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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

INTER-ARAB COOPERATION, TUNISIAN-SAUDI BILATERAL CONTACTS DISCUSSED

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 16 Oct 80 p 1

[Text] The Saudi sovereign emphasizes the necessity to strengthen relations between Tunis and Ryadh to the highest levels.

Jiddah--Saudi Arabia King Khaled received yesterday at the Royal Palace of Jiddah Mr Driss Guiga, minister of the Interior and head of the official delegation of Tunisian pilgrims, who was accompanied by members of the delegation. Present at the interview were Mr Kacem Bousnina, Tunisia's ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Prince Abdallah ibn Abdelaziz, vice president of the Saudi Council of Ministers, and Messrs M'hamed Abalkheil, minister of Economy and Finances, and Hichem Nazer, minister of Planning in the government of Saudi Arabia.

At the close of the meeting Mr Driss Guiga declared: "The official delegation of Tunisian pilgrims had the honor of being received by His Majesty King Khaled to whom I transmitted a written message from the Supreme Combatant in which the Chief of State extends his respects, in his name and in the name of the Government and of the Tunisian people, to His Majesty King Khaled, to the Government and the Saudi people, as well as in the name of Tunisian Moslems to all Moslems gathered in the Holy City for the pilgrimage."

"We have made a complete review of our bilateral relations which are by the way excellent. His Majesty King Khaled emphasized on this occasion the necessity to further tighten contacts at the highest level and to consolidate them by an intensive exchange of visits between government officials of the two countries," he added.

Mr Driss Guiga went on to say that he and the Saudi sovereign talked about questions pertaining to the Arab World, particularly those relative to the internal and external security of the Arab Nation and the Palestinian cause. "His Majesty King Khaled emphasized that it is indispensable to promote the economic cooperation between the Arab countries."

The minister of the Interior concluded his statement by saying: "We have also talked on the subject of the war which at the present is opposing two countries and two Moslem people. We have expressed hope that the pilgrimage will be an occasion for the restoration of brotherhood and peace so that Moslems may reach a higher degree of cooperation and understanding, the objective being to make the cause of Islam and that of Moslems triumph."

9670

CSO: 4400

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

MAURITANIAN OFFICIAL IN TRIPOLI--Foreign Minister Mohamed El Mokhtar Ould Zamel returned home this afternoon from Tripoli. In a statement he made on arrival the minister said that he had delivered a letter from chief of state and government Ould Haydala to the Libyan leader Al-Qadhafi on bilateral relations and cooperation. He added that he had discussed with Jallud and other officials bilateral relations and Arab and international issues. He said that he was pleased with the outcome of the visit and grateful for the welcome and hospitality accorded. [Summary] [LD112248 Nouakchott Domestic Service in Arabic 2030 GMT 11 Nov 80]

CSO: 4402

INTERVIEW WITH DEFENSE MINISTER ON MILITARY, POLITICAL ISSUES

TA071744 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 7 Nov 80 pp 21, 28

[Interview with Defense Minister Ahmad Badawi at his office in a military camp in a suburb of Cairo to Arab Affairs Correspondent 'Oded Granto; date not given]

[Text] Question: Next week Egypt will start another series of maneuvers with U.S. forces. What is the difference between these maneuvers and previous ones? What is their objective?

Answer: The objective is to acquire knowledge not only about the very use of arms but also about the techniques of the use. We are sending Egyptians to study in the United States for the same objective.

Question: Does the presence of U.S. land units in the expected maneuvers indicate increased cooperation between the two countries?

Answer: Naturally. Do you know why we are cooperating with the United States? Because the United States is driving toward the achievement of peace and stability and is considered among the friendly countries that are very important to Egypt. The U.S. attitude toward us has given rise to a new climate for the development of relations based on mutual trust and respect unlike those with the Soviet Union at the time.

When the peace agreement was signed different regional reactions were triggered particularly on the part of the countries under Moscow's influence. There were even neutral countries that claimed Israel should not be trusted before it consents to a comprehensive just solution.

The outcome--dangers which are threatening to Egypt have evolved. Do you know where the threat against Egypt originates? From which direction? It comes from the direction of Libya and Ethiopia. Libya is active in Chad and this creates a threat to Sudan and Sudan is our life's artery....

It is from this point that our cooperation with the United States as one of the sources for arms supply has started. We are still resolved to diversify armament sources so as not to repeat the first mistake we made with regard to arms import from the Soviet Union only. The objective is to defend the borders, to establish stability, to guarantee peace--a weak country tempts others to attack it.

Question: Have the maneuvers with the U.S. army contributed to improved ability of the U.S. army to operate in desert conditions?

Answer: Certainly, undoubtedly. Otherwise we would not have decided on the maneuvers. The 12-plane Phantom squadron only has value or weight in a joint maneuver. When a U.S. battalion comes to participate in a maneuver with similar elements of the Egyptian army--there is no value to it other than in cooperation in the field of training. The Americans, too, derive much knowledge from us just as we do from them. The cooperation is on an equal basis. They come here and operate under our command. The Phantoms squadron established itself in Cairo-west under the full command of the Egyptian base commander and all rules apply to them; there are no deviations. We are saying this publicly so the entire world can hear.

In contrast, the Soviet Union today has bases, emergency stockpiles, arms and experts in Arab countries. They dominate these countries and have bases where none of the country's people--including the country's president--is admitted. We have no such thing. We have begun marching toward democracy and there are no secret agreements in democracy. The cooperation with the Americans does not detract anything from our sovereignty. The U.S. forces come for 3 weeks and leave, for 3 months and leave.

Question: You mentioned the Libyan threat to Egypt. Does Cairo view the stationing of the ground-to-ground missiles on Libyan territory as a threat to its security?

Answer: This surely threatens Egypt's security for two reasons: the Libyan decisionmaker is an unbalanced person while the "original" decisionmaker (namely, the Soviet Union) may control him and direct him against Egypt when it pleases.

Question: Is Egypt making preparations to forestall such a threat?

Answer: All of our preparations on the western border region are defensive by nature. We have no ambitions regarding Libya, nor an intention to attack it. Everything we are doing is intended to safeguard the border.

Question: Is it possible that Al-Qadhafi will acquire nuclear arms?

Answer: Through whom? A third party?

Question: France... the Soviet Union....

Answer: I do not believe the French will give him nuclear arms. France is giving Iraq nuclear energy for peaceful needs. If Libya receives nuclear arms it will receive them directly from the Soviet Union since Libya lacks the scientific basis for the development of a nuclear arms potential.

However, if Libya receives nuclear arms from the Soviet Union we also will have to receive these arms from another source. Otherwise this will be suicide for us--destruction and ruin. I will give you an example: if we

receive this kind of arms the goal will not be to use it in an immoral manner but to prevent the other party from using it. In the 1967 war Israel extensively used napalm but in 1973 it did not use this since it knew we also had these arms.

Question: A policy of deterrence....

Answer: Exactly: When Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi attains nuclear arms so shall we, not in order to use them against Libya but in order to neutralize the Libyans and prevent them from using this kind of weapon against us. However, as far as this issue (of procuring the nuclear option) is concerned, there is no reason why we should scatter the resources and invest funds in it instead of investing in developing our country. If it is a question of life and death though, there will be no choice and no investments will be spared.

Question: Will Egypt consider extending aid to the Persian Gulf countries, for instance, in view of the war there?

Answer: Our commitment to help the Arab countries through training or with the supply of know-how and arms as defense against foreign attacks is valid and unchanged. The same applies to the common defense pacts. We are attaching great importance to the defense pact with Sudan because of the traditional ties between us and because of Egypt's interests in Sudan since the Nile is Egypt's life source.

We will also help the Arab Peninsula and Persian Gulf countries to repel an outside attack if we are asked. We shall not aid them if they are the aggressors. The purpose of the aid is to safeguard the region against Soviet control or influence.

This also applies to the installations we grant to the United States. These installations are aimed at helping countries that will ask for U.S. aid in repeling a threat by a big power, something that neither Egypt nor several Arab countries uniting together can face or cope with. We are giving facilities, not bases, to the Americans.

Question: What is your position regarding the Persian Gulf war? How will it end politically, militarily and economically? Has Saddam Husayn been mistaken in his war calculations?

Answer (categorically): I do not want to broach this subject being the defense minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt. It is clear, however, that both Iraq's and Iran's economy have been ruined as a result of the war. Even if one of the parties scores local, practical victories this will not measure up to the destruction and ruin caused to these two countries.

Our stance on this war is neutral. We do not support it since it is neither in the regional interest nor in the interest of either of the fighting parties. I am sorry the war broke out regardless of its motives and of who is right and who is wrong. This problem can be solved through peaceful

negotiations and we call on both sides to reach an agreement between them. If each was content with the rights he deserved and did not want to get more than his due, the problem would have been solved without bloodshed.

Who stands to benefit from the war today? The Soviet Union. I expect the internal struggles in Iran to increase as the Iranian Communist Party, the Tudeh, is strengthening and awaiting the weakening of the fighting sides. Then it will proceed to do its bit....

Israel's intransigency regarding a just solution to the Palestinian problem contradicts the Western world's policy, contradicts the policy of peace and stability and enables the Soviet Union to penetrate the region as an "arms dealer."

Had the Palestinian problem been solved, the friendship agreement between Syria and the Soviet Union would not have been signed. Some say a solution to the Palestinian problem is in U.S. hands. Others claim this is not true and one should solve the problem through war. The source of weaponry for war is the Soviet Union and [in return] it should be given influence and bases--even up to the point of giving the Soviets the chance to change the social regime in an Arab country.

Today, after the Camp David agreement was signed and the problem will be solved by peaceful means it will become clear that the road followed by Egypt with the help of the United States is the one to success.

Question: I thought that Al-Asad signed the friendship pact with the Soviet Union not because of the still unsolved Palestinian problem but because of the internal threat to his regime....

Answer (firmly): When the Palestinian problem is solved regimes will change. Whoever "barterers" with the Palestinian problem will be removed. Today Al-Asad is saying: The Golan issue can wait 2, 3 or 5 years and in the meantime he is taking advantage of this situation to use violence (terror) against the Persian Gulf countries to extort huge sums of money. In other words, he is bartering with this problem. When the Palestinian problem is solved, what will be "bartered" then? The Palestinian problem is the cornerstone and there is no doubt about this. We have to prove to all the countries claiming they need the Soviet Union since their existence is in danger that they are mistaken. A solution of the problem by peaceful means is the positive way.

Question: Can we say that when the Syrian regime is changed that it will be easier to solve the Palestinian problem?

Answer: The opposite is true. Al-Asad made an agreement with the Soviet Union and "is bartering" with the Palestinian problem. Al-Asad is doing everything to remain in power and rule. However, when the problem is solved, they will have nothing to chatter about. One will be able to greet them. Al-Asad represents an 'Alawite minority in Syria and he has signed a pact with the Soviet Union in order to keep his throne although he is not acceptable to the decisive majority of the Syrian people.

It is obviously not in the USSR's interest to have regional stability prevail since it is making use of the disorder and is complicating the peace process. (General Badaqi emphasizes that the Palestinian state will not be communist or given to Soviet influence and will never think in terms of posing a threat to Israel.)

Question: And the Palestinian National Charter?

Answer: Not everything the Palestinians say reflects their real policy. Today you are hitting and attacking them in Lebanon. I foresee an Israeli operation in southern Lebanon. Later the Lebanese are hitting them [the Palestinians] and the Syrians take over. Where will the Palestinians go? They have not received anything to date and when we achieve a just solution they will come to the negotiations in spite of the wish of any country.

Question: Is the autonomy agreement a reasonable solution?

Answer: A full autonomy is needed. Where in the world have you heard of autonomy for people and not for land? The Palestinians want full autonomy and you are establishing settlements. An occupation regime exists [in the territories] and the Palestinians are being driven out of every place.

Question: If Israel and Egypt achieve an agreement on the autonomy after a second Camp David conference, what will happen if the Palestinians reject this solution?

Answer: Who will reject? Every country has an extreme minority and a large majority that would accept the just solution. There are elements who do not want to solve the problem everywhere. (smilingly) Are there not Israeli elements who do not desire a solution to the problem?

How will the Palestinian state threaten Israel? The East and the West are Israel's guarantors and talk of liquidating Israel and throwing it into the sea is empty talk. The entire world, both East and West, will not agree to the destruction of Israel. We, too, will not agree and we have a word of honor that we adhere to. We signed on recognition of Israel and that is it. Israel is a state that exists and is legal. (Badawi is not overly impressed by the extreme minority, as he puts it, within the Palestinian camp. He rejects the assumption that the establishment of a Palestinian state will attract Palestinian immigrants.)

Question: As far as King Husayn is concerned, the impression is that he prefers to go in the direction of Iraq and Soviet influence rather than taking part in the peace talks.

Answer: It is naturally my hope that he will join the negotiations; however, Husayn is now going against the interest of the entire region. I am convinced that the king's steps of rapprochement toward the Soviet Union are a mere maneuver.

(Badawi entertains strong indignation against the Israeli accusations directed at Egypt and stresses the slowness of the normalization process. He is angry

about reports in the Israeli press according to which Egypt stopped tourism from Israel to the region of St Catherine's.)

Answer: We agreed on tourism to St Catherine's. As regards the Israeli tourists we said: Welcome. We said, however, that as far as foreigners are concerned they will come in through Egypt's official entrances, namely, like the citizens of any country we maintain contacts with.

This story has been misused by you in Israel. The press has said that Egypt stopped and prevented tourism and did not say that foreigners only will enter through Egypt while Israel will continue as usual. Why didn't Israeli official circles release a denial about this? There are dozens of tourist companies in Egypt and they are pressuring us--how will they work and what will they profit from?

Why should Israel not be like Greece, Italy or France, or like our relations with Libya? In this latter case we bring the tourists as far as the Al-Sallum border checkpoint and from there they travel by Libyan cars or buses. This whole arrangement with the foreign tourists Israel drove to St Catherine's was temporary. We have to make our living. We cannot allow foreign tourists to go through Israel. To give Israel a preferred status deals a blow to our honor.

Your adherence to temporary arrangements is turning into a permanent thing with you and this will oblige us in the future not to make such arrangements. All in all we have to progress gradually in the direction of normalization in relations. We did not, for example, prevent you from promoting tourism allowing swimming and diving, for instance, in the Ra's Muhammad area despite the fact that this is a buffer zone. All this profits the Israeli tourist companies while the Egyptian companies suffer from a lack of income and pressure us.

What is happening? Why all this commotion?

Look at the question of water supply to Sharm al-Shaykh. We are giving the Israeli settlement in Sharm al-Shaykh 1,700 cubes per day and take 500 cubes. You say: raise the quantity. How will we go about doing that? You should remember we have forces as well as citizens there. You still claim that we are withholding water from you. You later contended that 50 cubes of water of the allocation you receive leak on the way. I said: Well then, we will increase your quantity by 100 cubes so that you will have a surplus.

I do not understand what this spitefulness is for.

Normalization is proceeding well in general. Everything started early. We made nine agreements; after 3 months we began implementation. According to the agreement the negotiations should have begun 6 months from the day of withdrawal and could have lasted 1, 2 or 3 years.

We gave you a short aerial corridor over Port Sa'id during visits by important personages. (emphatically and raising his voice) There is no country and no country's president at whose disposal we put a short aerial corridor. Any president must go through the international corridor.

What does all this indicate? It indicates there are facilities, there is understanding, and what do we get in return?

Question: Is it possible that military-strategic cooperation will be established between Egypt, Israel and the United States in the future for the maintenance of regional stability?

Answer: Military cooperation is a big word with many aspects. Do you think to yourself that we will talk today of military cooperation when Israel is still controlling part of our land and has not yet led to a just and comprehensive solution to the Palestinian problem?

Question: Also regarding the exchange of know-how?

Answer: This relates to all spheres. There is the sphere of cooperation. We met and jointly implemented the military clauses of the Camp David agreement. This is a kind of cooperation but can one talk of cooperation when he is still under occupation? This is an issue that can be discussed only at a later stage. Today one should still create the climate, the appropriate circumstances and the mutual trust, on the one hand, and to remove the factors of struggle, on the other. First, the Palestinian problem should be solved. The main goal is the implementation of the peace agreement.

Now one need not talk of military cooperation. This is not an urgent goal. If I talk of military cooperation today, under the present circumstances when my land is occupied and the Palestinian problem is still unsolved, I will be accused of treachery.... When peace and security prevail in the region there will be various kinds of cooperation among the regional countries.

I hope that the friendship between us will last and that problems will be solved. This is the best guarantee. President Al-Sadat declared that the Yom Kippur War was the last one and that all problems can be solved by peaceful means.

Question: Are you considering a visit to Israel?

Answer: So far, as a result of circumstances I have not been fortunate to visit Israel. Former Defense Minister Kamal Hasan 'Alf stayed in the United States for 70 days and continued to receive treatment later as well. All that time I substituted for him here and could not leave Egypt. I have no objection to visiting Israel. I only hope that at the same time good circumstances will also be created concerning a solution to the Palestinian problem.

CSO: 4805

KHOMAYNI'S POWER BASE SEEN DETERIORATING

Brussels SPECIAL L'EVENTAIL in French 31 Oct-6 Nov 80 pp 18, 20

[Text] Iran has been an unceasing cause for concern in the world for nearly 2 years. The Islamic revolution, the taking of the hostages, and now the war with Iraq have significantly contributed to destabilizing a vital region and to provoking disturbing tensions in the world.

The course of political change in Iran since the departure of the shah was at first surprising, then disturbing, to observers of the world scene. For many, the regime of the Ayatollah Khomeyni seemed destined to last but a very short time. Now, it has been just a bit less than 2 years that intransigence and fanaticism have held sway in Tehran.

Today, the problem of the American hostages returns to center stage. The question "Why?" must be asked. It will soon be a year since 50 of the personnel of the American embassy in Tehran were captured and held hostage. During that time the most elementary rules of international law have been scoffed at by the Iranian authorities with a nonchalance that leaves one gasping.

It may thus seem surprising that the fate of these hostages should be on the point of being resolved on the eve of the American elections and at a moment when Iran finds itself confronted with serious problems. So events are at a decisive turning point.

It appears more and more that Iran needs to shore up its prestige abroad, as the country is in bitter conflict with its Iraqi neighbor. The authorities in Tehran are looking for external support, for beyond the local defeats of the Iranian army, it is the prestige and authority of Khomeyni that could be hardest hit. Moreover, Iran needs money, as its principal source of revenue, oil, is almost completely dried up because of the conflict with Iraq.

The liberation of the hostages will undoubtedly entail the unblocking of Iran's assets in the United States. That would give the Iranians liquidity and therefore the army could be given resources to battle against the Iraqi enemy.

For in Tehran it is believed certain that an Iraqi victory would strike a fatal blow to the Islamic revolution. The heretics of Saddam Hussein would triumph over the followers of God! The Iranian people could be subjected to a painful

awakening, and might even open their eyes! It is therefore indispensable for the Iranian regime, in absence of victory, to be assured of the potential aid needed to forestall such a situation. Let us not forget that many of the Arab (and Muslim) countries have clearly sided with Iraq. This includes Saudi Arabia, Jordan and the Gulf States.

The question of the hostages thus presents itself at an ideal time for enhancing Iran's image, if somehow a suitable solution can be adopted.

But, beyond this aspect, it also could have an effect on American political life. The freeing of the hostages might in part facilitate the reelection of President Carter. For this liberation would be considered by the public as a personal feat of Jimmy Carter. And he certainly understands this. For some days rumors have flown around Washington that negotiations were under way with Iran on liberating the hostages. Even though the Iranian prime minister denied it, the American public is whispering that "where there's smoke, there's fire," and that in fact some talks are being held right now. Such ideas, in case the hostages should be freed before the elections, would make it possible for the president to come out as the principal architect of their release. His chances of winning a second term would perhaps thus be enhanced. Not to mention that Washington could bring more specific support to Iran. Presently, the United States has contented itself with declaring its support for Iranian territorial integrity, without condemning "the Iraqi aggression." Moreover, and despite the absence of diplomatic relations with Iraq, there have been contacts between Iraqi and American diplomats.

Power Struggle

If the Iranians are tenaciously defending themselves against the Iraqi enemy, one should nevertheless not be fooled: their unity is only a facade. The internal political situation of Iran is far from being rosy, and it appears more and more [clearly] that a power struggle is in process among the principal Iranian leaders.

There is first of all the open struggle between President Bani Sadr and Prime Minister Ali Radjai. And behind the personal struggle is a struggle between lay and clerical factions. Let us not forget that it is the Parliament that has chosen the prime minister and imposed him on the president of the republic, even if the latter was ultimately chosen by the Iranian deputies. Nevertheless, it is clear for all to see that the two men have diametrically opposed ideas and that they are both jockeying for position as eventual successor to the imam Khomeyni. The latter, by contrast, is for the moment rather quiet and contents himself with watching the two protagonists while keeping his own power.

President Bani Sadr himself is quite aware of this situation, and thus he tries to maneuver skillfully, while at the same time avoiding antagonizing the religious hierarchy. It was however against the advice of this hierarchy that he ordered the release of a number of superior officers and advisers imprisoned for having served the shah, to help in the conflict with Iraq. In case of Iranian victory, the president would then look like the national savior. And, too, the army and its officers would be rehabilitated. This is precisely what Radjai and Khomeyni want to avoid. Their power would be greatly shaken, if this were to happen. And this is where the second conflict is taking place, between the Guardians of the Revolution and the regular army.

The Guardians of the Revolution are the personal troops of the Imam Khomeyni. For the moment they are suffering the heaviest casualties in the Iran-Iraq conflict. They are, in fact, in the front line of the battle and to them have been entrusted the most dangerous missions.

They have been brought to such a pitch of fanaticism by the mullahs that they are going to their death with incredible nonchalance. Which enables them to put up ferocious resistance. By dying, these guardians are becoming martyrs who have given their lives for the victory of Good over Evil. By presenting "his" guardians as the martyrs, as the sole defenders of Islam, Khomeyni wins the recognition of the people and impedes any resurgence in the prestige of the regular army.

And, too, President Bani Sadr, commander in chief of the army, can no longer be considered the savior of the nation. The Imam is killing two birds with one stone.

Nevertheless, it must be expected that this struggle will become still more pronounced, because of the disastrous economic position of the country, which will be burdened still further by the consequences of the war with Iraq.

Who Manipulates Khomeyni?

In analyzing Khomeyni's attitude, one asks oneself what he is after. What goal is he trying to reach?

At the start of his reign over the ancient Persian empire, some believed that he served Moscow's interests. It has since become apparent that this is not the case, since the USSR is, along with the United States, branded with infamy. So, what is the Imam looking for?

Beyond personal vengeance, one might easily think that he aims at "exporting" his Islamic revolution at overthrowing the regimes he deems to be "corrupted by the West." The final victory of Islam over the heretics is certainly one of the deepest aspirations of Iran's ruler. Most of the other Muslim countries fear the Islamic revolution and its consequences. Few are tempted to court the economic chaos Iran has experienced. Why do the Muslims refuse to follow the old ayatollah? And what if Islam were but a pretext intended to mask another aim? Is the ayatollah acting on his own, or is he manipulated behind the scenes? These are questions which at present cannot be answered. Only the future will tell. Alas!

9516

CSO: 4906

CHARTER OF NEW ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM PROMULGATED

Aim of Proposed System

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 6 Sep 80 p 5

[Text] To promote the goals of the Islamic Revolution and to annihilate the traces of the former oppressive regime in the administrative system of the country, the Union of the Islamic Associations of Government Employees has, within the limits of its ability, formulated an organizational structure in order to change the government system in conformity with Islamic principles and the Constitution.

The Overall Aim of the Proposed System:

The realization of the rule of the oppressed on earth; decentralization of the economy and services; unity of leadership and command, insuring self-sufficiency in all spheres of activity and the severance of economic and political affiliation and dependence; complete ouster of colonialism; and, moving from the status of consumer to that of producer.

Another important point is that, by drawing on Principle 133 of the Constitution which provides that the number of ministries and the scope of their powers shall be determined by law to be ratified by the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majles), and also by considering the other principles of the Constitution and the principal needs and logical links in the organizational network, we have changed the ministerial posts and ministries and have modified their functions. cursory reference is made to these changes in the attached proposal on the organizational structure. The attached organizational chart does not reflect the details of the structures of the ministries and departments. We have limited ourselves to the overall organizational chart. The detailed charts of the ministries and departments shall be submitted after necessary amendments.

At this juncture we, the members of the Union of the Islamic Societies of Government Employees, declare that we shall be at the service of the esteemed deputies of the Majles with all our resources. We shall attend the meetings of the deputies at any time called by the Majles in order that we may give any necessary explanation regarding the proposed system and exchange views for its perfection.

We pray to God to grant us the opportunity to discharge our indebtedness to the Revolution and to make the contribution that we have pledged.

Union of the Islamic Societies of Government Employees

Planning Government Structure

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 6 Sep 80 pp 5, 6

[Text] As this structural design has been prepared on the basis of the needs of the society and of the people of the rural and urban areas—prepared in such a way as to touch and interface these needs in an Islamic context—the features of the overall design are described from bottom to top:

1. The furnishing of the various production, distribution and consumer services to villagers so that while the services are supplied the servicing energies are economized and the way is paved for the attainment of self-sufficiency and enhanced productivity. Therefore, about 20 executive units shall be created at the county level;
2. Required service units not mentioned at the county level for economizing on resources shall be created at the level of districts—located in one of the counties in the district. Such services include road building, construction and judicial court services;
3. The first phase of planning and designing takes place at the city region level (shahrestan) in the following manner: all statistics, proposals, operational reports and lists of the requirements of villages shall be prepared at the levels of county and district by village and district councils. Once these collected data are integrated they are sent to the city region's Designing and Planning Offices. The latter will review the data and prepare the necessary projects by taking into consideration all the timing and locating criteria and by considering the possibilities and priorities. The projects will then be sent to the provincial governments for final review. The city region offices shall independently approve and implement some of the projects. In addition, the governor shall put into effect through the lieutenant governors and operational groups the projects approved by the governor general's office. The councils shall play an effective part in the preparation and formulation of projects and in supervision over the projects at all governmental levels and at the county level, and even in the actual execution of the projects.
4. Specialized education complexes at the level of training technicians and more highly specializing experts as required in the region shall be set up at provincial and city region centers so that the material as well as employed specializing human resources available in cities may be used for training and securing the required human resources of the various parts of the city region (by training experts in educational complexes in the city region);
5. At the provincial level, the staff sections of each general department shall be set up to integrate the collected data, to design and plan, and to supervise and evaluate. The staff sections shall function under the supervision of the governor general and in cooperation with the relevant deputies of the governor

general. They shall not interfere in the operational activities except in cases necessarily instructed by the governor general and in such cases as the nature of the work involves them in the operational area as well;

6. At the national level, all the ministries shall be exclusively engaged in staff work. Each shall be in charge of the overall coordination, designing and planning, high supervision and evaluation, and in charge of the final phase of the implementation. They shall, while attending the regular ministerial council meetings, integrate and schedule the projects and estimate the necessary appropriations on the basis of the relevant criteria. Then they shall formulate the budget with the help of the Ministry of Finance and approve the projects and submit them to the Prime Minister for implementation. The Prime Minister shall put the projects into effect through governors general and governors;

7. At all governmental levels, measures have been taken to guard against overlapping of the functions of the executive departments and units and of technical sections. The principle of assigning the duties to the specialists has been kept in view. Also, in order to optimize the utilization of the expertise and the resources of some sections and ministries with near-similar duties and with the needs of the similar lines of expertise, we have merged these sections and ministries. On this very basis, the Ministry of Road and Transport has been merged into the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development so that by using the same experts, greater service may be rendered for road building and for observing the urban development criteria in rural renewal so that the standard designs and plans in public works may expedite rural development.

8. The Ministry of Commerce has been divided into the Ministry of Domestic Trade and the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Because of the crucial importance of creating an effective distribution network for consumer goods, of striking a balance between consumption and production, of maximal utilization of land and sea transportation and of public warehouses all over the country and of the cooperative societies for production, distribution and consumption tied in with a nationwide plan, a Ministry of Domestic Trade is to be established in order to put an end to the current chaos. All export and import operations shall be carried out on the basis of a scientifically correct program and with a perspective on the foreign policy of the country and on the basis of the ratifications of the Majles. These considerations call for the establishment of a Ministry of Foreign Trade to undertake foreign trade operations. Therefore, the sale of petroleum and petroleum products is also assigned to this ministry.

9. The Ministry of Industries and Mines: Because of urgent need for the integration of all industrial activities due to the interrelationship of various industries as far as primary and intermediate commodities and capital and consumer goods are concerned, all the industries and mines shall come under the supervision of the Ministry of Industries and Mines. The Minister of Industries and Mines shall appoint supervisors for various industries such as steel, petroleum and petrochemicals, and for other heavy and light industries.

10. The Ministry of Education: Due to the need for integrated planning of and for a linear coordination among the various levels of education from preschool to postgraduate, all these activities shall be planned under one minister. Sport training and matters related to physical education shall be handled by this ministry also;

11. The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance: Part of the functions of the Planning and Budget Organization in the phase of budget formulation and allocation shall be incorporated into the staff functions of this ministry;

12. The Ministry of Labor: In the light of the fact that there are functional similarities and also with a view to the fact that all employment affairs should be coordinated, the Organization for Employment Affairs is disbanded and all its personnel and functions will be transferred to the Ministry of Labor. Thus any job candidate shall refer to the recruitment department of the Ministry of Labor and any governmental or nongovernmental organization shall use the Labor Ministry's Recruitment Department as a clearing house for their recruitment purpose. Each job candidate shall be issued a recruitment book with a serial number. The book shall show a work record and an employment status of the worker at any given time and at any place. The same book shall be used for entitlement to unemployment benefits and retirement pension under Principles 28 and 29 of the Constitution. Thus no element of the labor force will be found without a clear employment and living status, nor will it be found to be drawing more than one salary from more than one employer. The formulation of the laws and procedures of employment and the coordination of its various affairs shall be the responsibility of the Ministry of Labor and its various provincial labor departments while their enforcement shall be the charge of the city region labor departments. Generally speaking, the execution of affairs shall be delegated to the lower levels while a greater proportion of planning and decision making shall progressively be made at higher levels.

13. The Ministry of Interior: This ministry shall have the responsibility for coordinating the implementation phases of all national plans and for unity of command. Fortunately, the grounds have been prepared by some of the bills approved by the Islamic Revolutionary Council for the formation of the provincial technical councils and of the rural development coordination councils at the provincial and city region levels, and for the formation of recruitment centers in the provinces and for the formation of health planning task forces as well as those for activating the small industries in the provinces and city regions.

14. Water Resources and Distribution Facilities Ministry: One of the biggest problems of the country is to meet the water shortage and to maximize the utilization of the surface, river and underground water resources and to recover and filter urban sewerage water for use in agriculture; to supply water for drinking and farming; to create irrigation networks and to build dams and the relevant facilities. These problems justify the establishment of the said ministry.

15. With a view to Principles 152, 143, 110, 157, 158 and 8 of the Constitution, and with regard to the nature of the ministries in question, the proposed design is as follows: The Minister of Justice shall perform his duties under the supervision of the High Judicial Council and shall estimate and secure its finances through the Ministry of Finance.

The Ministry of Defense shall work under the High Council of Defense and obtain its finances from the Ministry of Finance. As regards foreign policies, a High Council of Foreign Policies shall be set up to oversee the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

16. Formation of the High Council of Foreign Policies: By virtue of Principles 152, 143, 110 and 113 and by considering the nature of the work of the said council, it is suggested that its membership comprise the President, the Prime Minister, a Mojtabeh [religious jurispudent] familiar with international affairs and representing the Velayat-e Faqih [Religious Guardian-Jurispudent], an expert on international economics, an expert on international politics, and an expert on international defense--each delegated by their respective ministries.

17. The High Council of Religious Direction or the High Council of Islamic Guidance shall be established by inference from the provision of Principle 8 of the Constitution and on the orders of the Leader at the time of the Provisional Government and on the basis of the wish of the majority of the deputies of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majles) and as required by the perceived nature of such a council. Its composition shall be as follows: 1. a Mojtabeh, well informed on all guidance and educational matters, representing the Velayat-e Faqih; 2. a qualified person suggested by the High Judicial Council (Judiciary); 3. a qualified person introduced by the executive branch; 4. a qualified person proposed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Legislature); 5. a qualified person representing the Revolutionary Guards Corps. To implement the provisions of Principle 175 of the Constitution, the Radio and Television, publications and propaganda and the mass media shall be directly supervised by this council. The Ministry of Guidance Affairs and Islamic Propaganda shall be overseen by the High Council of Islamic Guidance, and the Endowment Organization, too, shall be part of the said ministry. It should be further noted that the latter four ministries shall coordinate their budget formulation with the Ministry of Finance and the other ministers while the final decision shall rest with the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

18. The High Economic Council: By virtue of Principles 43 and 44 and with a view to the need to formulate a coordinated general economic policy at the national level and to coordinate the economics of the country with the foreign policy formulations, a High Economic Council must, of necessity, be set up under the supervision of Velayat-e Faqih comprising of the following members: (1) the President of the country; (2) the Prime Minister; (3) the Minister of Commerce; (4) the Minister of Industries and Mines; (5) the Minister of Agriculture; (6) the Minister of Finance; and (7) a Mojtabeh specializing in economic affairs and representing the Leader. Bureaus of Economic Experts shall work under the High Economic Council. These bureaus prepare the preliminary plans and the overall policy of the nation's economy on the basis of the data supplied by all the ministries. The bureaus shall also forward to the Prime Ministry and the relevant ministries the projects approved by the High Economic Council.

Regarding the Reconstruction Campaign

At the levels of the district and the country and where there is a shortage of manpower, the Bureaus of Planning and Evaluation at the city region and provincial levels and in the capital shall draw on the forces of the Reconstruction Campaign as far as possible. On the other hand, since the employment identification cards under this new system eliminate the permanent employment arrangements and give priority to temporary employment, and since wages would be rated according to expertise, experience, knowledge, need, merit and efficiency and would be payable on a purchase order basis, all forces shall have a campaign posture and,

God willing, all the employees in government organizations shall, under all circumstances work like campaigners.

National Mobilization

In order to implement the national mobilization project in as complete and expeditious a manner as possible, and in order to create a 20-million strong army, to prepare the basis for the equitable distribution of the public provisions, to establish a strong and integrated information network by the people themselves, and to enable the people to take meaningful and planned part in the supervision of network affairs and in occasional implementation thereof, a separate plan has been prepared. The latter makes for the creation of real People's Councils conforming to the Islamic principles. For its nature, the National Mobilization network shall be under the direct supervision of the executive ranks.

Islamic Guidance and Propaganda

At various administrative levels the elements of Islamic guidance shall be embodied in the planning and coordination offices, while at the lower levels these take executive form for guiding the people to grasp the Islamic culture and the political, social, economic and ideological issues prevalent in the world and in the community of nations. They shall have the responsibility of the mass communication at their own levels.

This plan provides for national inspection of satisfactory performance of affairs down to the district level.

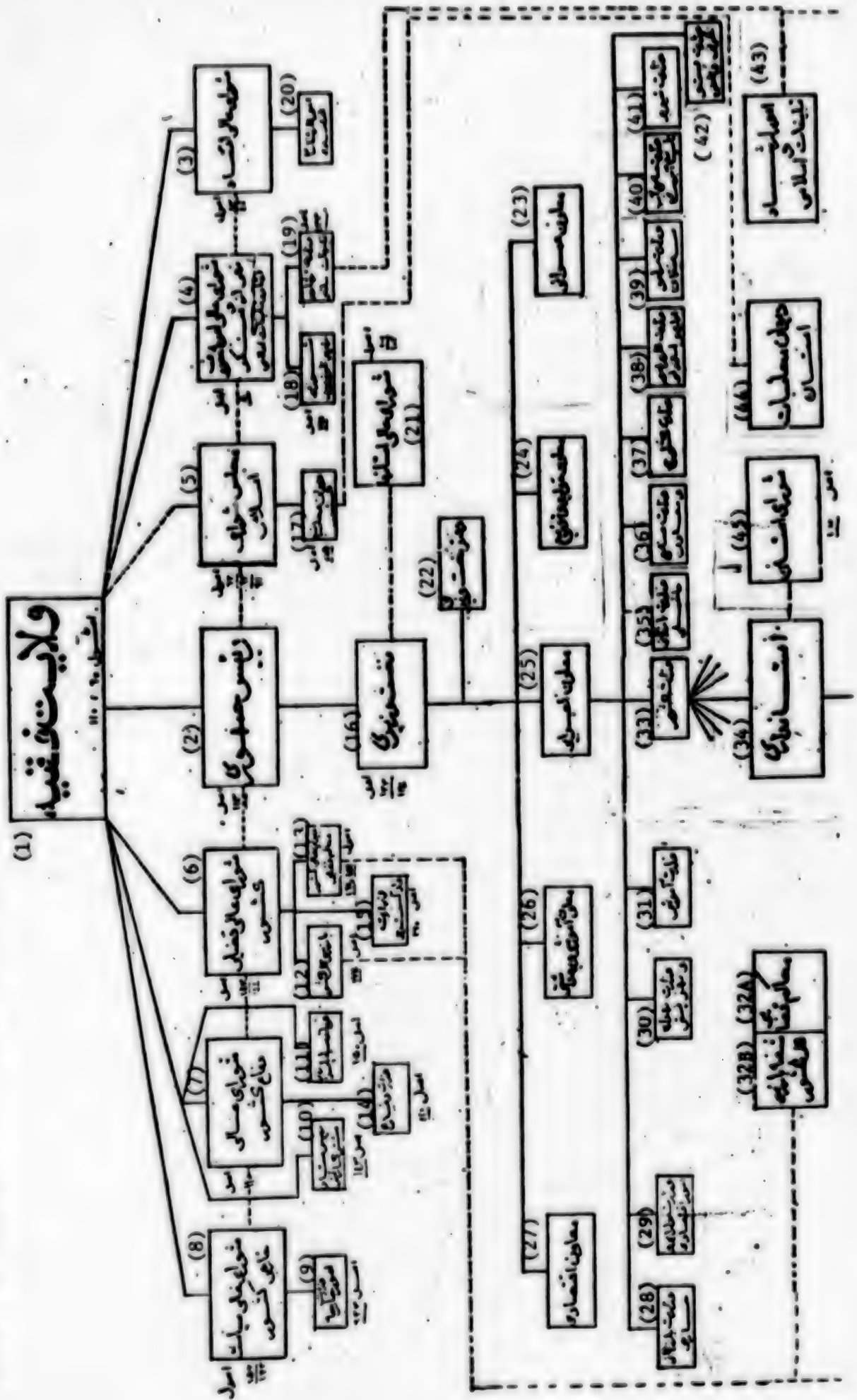
Executive Deputy

It is the duty of this government authority to assist the Prime Minister in implementing the projects and programs approved by the Council of Ministers and transmitted to the ministries concerned. Other deputies shall assist the Prime Minister in handling and expediting the various projects and programs at a ministerial level. It is noted that the planning and controlling of the maritime communications (shipping, navigation, etc.) shall be the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. The religious assertive and prohibitive guidance to be given the government by the people shall be channeled through the representatives of the councils at various levels. Administrative departments, too, shall guide their operational lines in keeping with their organizational ranks.

Organizational Chart

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 6 Sep 80 p 8

[Text] New Administrative System of the Islamic Republic of Iran

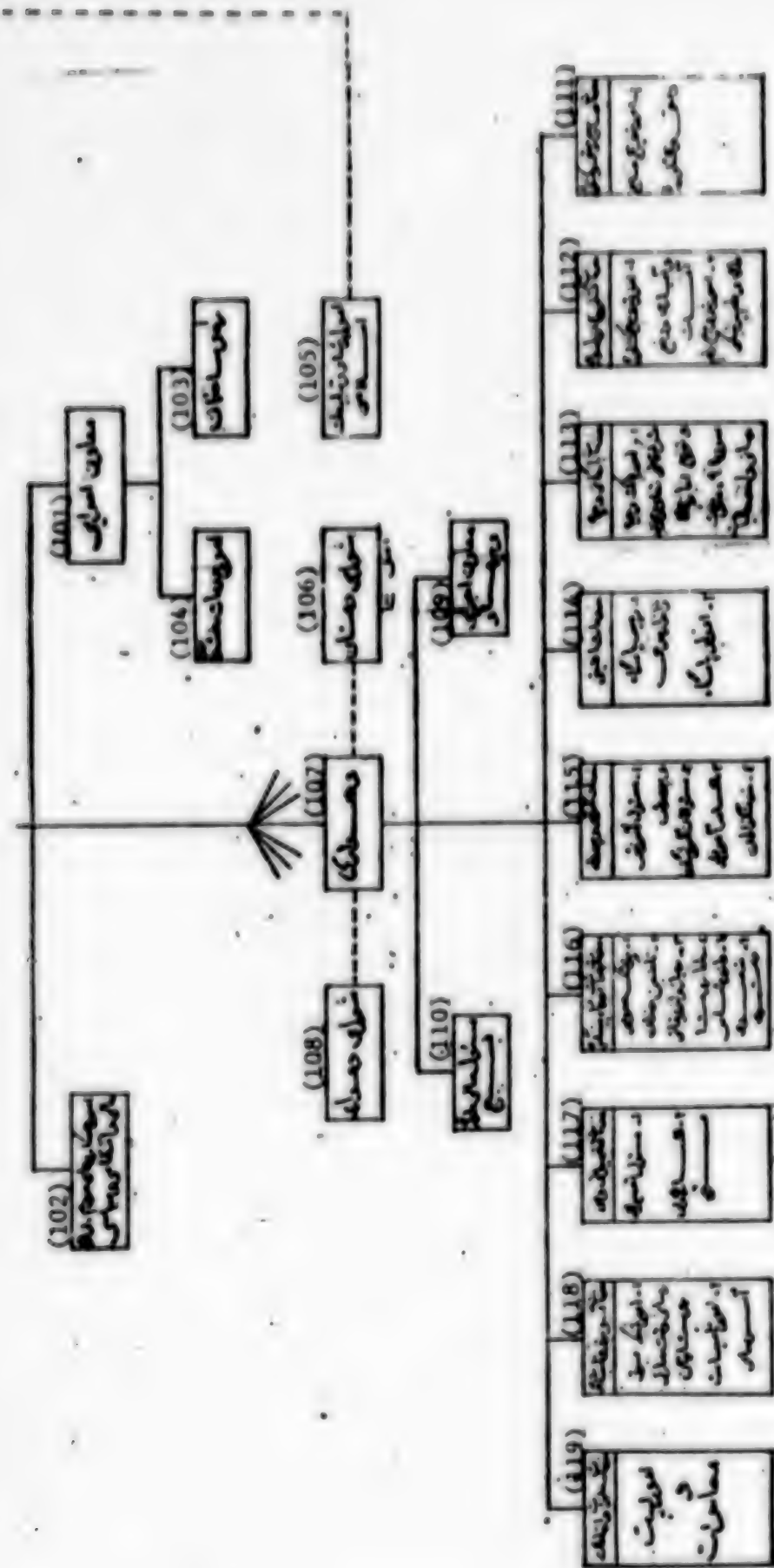


Key:

1. Velayat-e Faqih [Religious Guardian-Jurisprudent] (Principles 60, 110)
2. Presidency (Principle 113)
3. High Economic Council (Principles 13, 44)
4. High Council of Religious Exhortation and Admonition (Amr be Ma'roof va Nahy az Monkar)--Islamic Publications and Propaganda (Principle 8)
5. Islamic Consultative Assembly (Principles 62, 63, 91)
6. High Judicial Council of the State (Principles 157, 158)
7. High Council of State Defense (Principle 110)
8. High Council of Foreign Policy of the Country (Principles 152, 143)
9. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Principle 633)
10. Chief of the Joint Staff of Army (Principle 143)
11. Commander of the Guards Corps (Principle 150)
12. State General Inspectorate (Principle 174)
13. State Supreme Court--Judicial Courts (Principles 159, 161)
14. Ministry of Defense (Principle 110)
15. Ministry of Justice (Principle 160)
16. The Prime Minister's Office (Principles 133, 124)
17. State Accounts Department (Principle 55)
18. Council of Radio-TV (Principle 175)
19. Ministry of Islamic Guidance and Propaganda (Principle 133)
20. Affairs of Economic Experts
21. High Council of Provinces (Principles 101, 102)
22. Prime Minister's Bureau
23. Deputy Prime Minister for Development
24. Deputy Prime Minister for Production and Distribution
25. Deputy Prime Minister for Executive Affairs
26. Deputy Prime Minister for Health and Education
27. Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs
28. Ministry of Foreign Trade
29. Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance
30. Ministry of Health and Welfare
31. Ministry of Education
- 32A. Judicial Courts
- 32B. Branch of State General Inspectorate
33. Ministry of Interior
34. Governorate General
35. Ministry of Domestic Trade
36. Ministry of Industries and Mines
37. Ministry of Agriculture
38. Ministry of Labor and Employment Affairs
39. Ministry of Communications and Construction
40. Ministry of Water Resources and Water Distribution Facilities
41. Ministry of Energy
42. Ministry of Post, Telegraph and Telephone
43. Guidance Affairs and Islamic Propaganda
44. Provincial Accounts Department
45. Provincial Council (Principle 100)

46. Governorate General Secretariat
47. Deputy Governor General for Planning and Programming of Development Affairs
48. Deputy Governor General for Planning and Programming of Production and Distribution Affairs
49. Deputy Governor General for Planning and Programming of Education and Health
50. Deputy Governor General for Political, Disciplinary and Mobilization Affairs
51. Deputy Governor General for Financial and Administrative Affairs
52. Planning and Programming Affairs Office for Communications
53. Planning and Programming Office for Urban Development, Roads and Construction
54. Planning and Programming Office for Water Resources, Sewerage and Water Facilities
55. Planning and Programming Office for Electricity Distribution
56. Planning and Programming Office for Agriculture, Irrigation and Pest Control
57. Planning and Programming Office for Industry and Mining
58. Planning and Programming Office for Livestock and Poultry Breeding
59. Planning and Programming Office for Production, Distribution and Consumption Cooperatives
60. Planning and Programming Office for Sanitation, Treatment and Preventive Medicine
61. Planning and Programming Office for Education and Physical Training
62. Police Department
63. Popular Cooperation and Mobilization of Political Affairs
64. Gendarmerie
65. Finances and Economic Affairs
66. Procurement and Supplies
67. Accounts
68. Administrative and Employment Affairs
69. Banking
70. Guidance Affairs and Islamic Propaganda
71. Regional Council (Principle 100)
72. Governor's Office
73. a) Judicial Courts; b) Branch of State Inspectorate-General
74. Secretariat of the Governor's Office
75. Deputy Governor for Development, Communication and Construction, Urban Development, Public Works and Electricity
76. Deputy Governor for Agricultural and Industrial Production and Cooperative Companies
77. Deputy Governor for Education, Health and Physical Training
78. Deputy Governor for Political, Social and Disciplinary Affairs
79. Deputy Governor for Financial and Administrative Affairs
80. Communications Planning
81. Road, Construction and Urban Development Planning
82. Water and Sewerage Facilities Planning
83. Electricity Distribution Planning
84. Agriculture, Livestock and Irrigation Planning
85. Industry and Mining Planning
86. Production, Distribution and Consumption Cooperatives Planning
87. Education and Physical Training Planning
88. Manpower and Convened Higher Education Planning

- 89. Sanitation, Treatment and Preventive Medicine Planning
- 90. Political and Social Affairs, Popular Cooperation and Mobilization
- 91. Gendarmerie
- 92. Police
- 93. Administrative, Employment and Recruitment Affairs
- 94. Finances and Economic Affairs
- 95. Accounting and Banking
- 96. Coordination and Supplies
- 97. Guidance Affairs and Islamic Propaganda
- 98. District Council
- 99. District Governor Office
- 100. a) Judicial Court; b) Branch of the State Inspectorate-General



(120)

موضوع	غیرالتکلیفی تمام حکومت جمهوری اسلامی ایران
نکته	اعطای اعتبار به اسناد و کتابخانه ملی
تاریخ و دفتر	مجلس شورای اسلامی

101. Executive Deputy of District Governor
102. Popular Participation in Administrative, Financial, Disciplinary and Political Affairs
103. Communications and Construction
104. Services at District Level
105. Guidance Affairs and Islamic Propaganda
106. Rural Council (Principle 100)
107. Rural Administration
108. Rural Administration Council
109. Deputy, Executive and Reconstruction Campaign
110. Financial, Administrative and Mobilization Supervisor
111. Handicrafts and Agricultural Services: 1. Affairs of Handicrafts and Agriculture Promotion
112. Agricultural and Livestock Development Services: 1. Agricultural Extension, Irrigation and Pest Control Promotion; 2. Livestock Development and Veterinary Medicine Promotion
113. Trade and Insurance Services: 1. Banking and Insurance Affairs of Production and Distribution Cooperatives, Warehouses, Cold Storages, Heating Fuel Distribution and Tax Collection
114. Security Services: 1. Head of the Gendarmerie Post; 2. Personnel of the Gendarmerie Post
115. Educational Services: 1. Head of Education Department; 2. Responsible Officials of Educational Institutions; 3. Educational Cadre; 4. Support Personnel
116. Sanitation, Treatment and Preventive Medicine Services: 1. General Practitioner; 2. Dental Technician; 3. Medic and Injection Service; 4. Rural midwife; 5. Pharmacies; 6. Office Attendant
117. Reparation and Technical Services: 1. Repair Workshop Attendant; 2. Technical Workers
118. Water, Power and Water Facilities Services: 1. Power Transmission Grid and Rural Meter-reading and Registration; 2. Water Distribution Facilities
119. Telecommunications Services: Post and Telecommunications Affairs
120. Subject: Organizational Chart of the Administrative System of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Prepared by: Union of the Islamic Societies of Government Employees.

Drawn by: The Technical Office

Member of Central Council of Union of the Societies of Government Employees

Signed = NAJAFI

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CSO: 4906

FATE OF NAPOLEON'S, HITLER'S ARMIES PREDICTED FOR IRAQIS

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 26 Oct 80 pp 1,2

[Text] Modern history records that invading armies, without exception, have been defeated or destroyed. Examples are Napoleon's and Hitler's armies, both of which were annihilated on Russian soil.

"Khuninshahr" ["The City of Blood," formerly Khorramshahr] still continues to put up resistance. All newspaper headlines read: "Khuninshahr Puts Up Heroic Resistance In The Face Of An All-Out Attack By Infidels" and "Despite Complete Occupation, Khuninshahr Continues To Put Up Fierce Resistance." Many people wonder: Will that city which has put up such a heroic and historic resistance in every of its corners fall to the Iraqis? Will other border cities fall in the hands of the enemy? Will the plan for the so-called 'Free Khuzestan and Arabestan' be announced? And finally, in view of all these losses, will Iranians be defeated? The answer to all these questions is a categorical "no!" Because of history's record: Islam has always triumphed over satanic forces. There is plenty of talk purporting that border towns may fall in Iraqi hands. In this article we can comment only succinctly on a few aspects of that eventuality.

1. Iran's border towns now exhibit Karbala-like characteristics and recall the wars waged by Imams. That is why it is not the sheer numbers of the combatants involved, but their moral values which is the determining factor in the Iran-Iraq conflict: despite the masses of Iraqi troops, with all their materiel, who have been dragged to the battlefield forcibly, through intimidation, or in a state of intoxication, Iranian war-torn towns have been putting up a fierce resistance and are still entrenched in strongholds under the heaviest blows from gunfire and bomb explosions. This fact confirms the Koranic verse: "With God's intervention, small groups can triumph over huge armies."

This triumph is not due to Iran's material facilities and military forces, although, in terms of magnitude, they are superior to their Iraqi counterparts. Rather it is due to the impact of values created in the hearts and minds of Iranian troops and masses. As during the wars waged by Imams "the Imams, accompanied with armies, have risen to attack the infidels and have never shown any weakness, apathy, or wavering despite considerable losses and suffering which was their lot in their divine mission. And God likes those who gallantly and stolidly wage war against the forces of evil."

2. Furthermore, we must generally bear in mind that the current war is not a very classic one: the coexistence of revolutionary, guerrilla, and partisan tactics has prevented the Iraqi troops from unhindered movements and a classic military operation. Indeed, the current war consists of various fronts, each of which is governed by particular conditions. When we hear news about the border areas, we must make it a point to find out to what specific front and particular locality that news pertain.

Consequently we can rely completely and definitively neither on Iraqi attacks nor on their "positional advances:" for various reasons, Iraqi troops have often been able to initially invade a town or an area, only to fall on their knees and flee in the face of heroic assaults by the soldiers of Islam. Under such circumstances, how can one talk of the "fall" of Khurinshehr and of the adjoining area? In general how can one consider Iraqi troops as victorious simply because they have reached and invaded a locale?

3. Let us suppose that Iraq's scattered forces have finally managed to invade a town or an area. There can be only three possibilities:

- (a) The Iraqis will continue to attack;
- (b) the Iraqis will remain in their positions;
- (c) the Iraqis will retreat.

Possibility (a).- This is not feasible: first of all Iraq wishes only to occupy certain strategic border points so that it can rely on them to establish a base allegedly aimed at weakening, dismembering, and toppling Iran's central government, thus ridding America of its big "pain in the neck." But apart from that, Iraq is simply incapable of continuing the war. Iraq has not yet occupied even the few points that are closest to its borders. Moreover, it has lost thousands of lives and billions of dinars in damages. Its military forces, economic facilities, and vital supply routes have been destroyed. If Iraq continues the war, it will destroy its own army and bring about the downfall of the Baath government. By now the Iraqi army is fully aware that a virtual hell awaits it in every inch of the Iranian soil; the Iraqi army is equally well aware that its "overlord," the U.S. army, is quite mistaken in indulging in fancies such as visions of Iraqis advancing towards Tehran and other cities!

Obviously, with the continuation of the war, the fatigue, pressures, and losses of the Iraqi army (which is not enthralled with war) are bound to mount and, as a result, the Iraqi army will become war-weary and "war-wise." It is well known that two of history's most powerful armies, those of Napoleon and Hitler, have been decimated and annihilated in a like fashion on Russian soil. Furthermore, there is a considerable amount of awareness and awakening among Iraqi masses, which is snowballing and spreading. And, as Imam Khomeini has said: "Most likely, a revolution similar to that of Iran will soon sweep Iraq."

Possibility (b).- One must bear in mind the fact that to hold on to an invaded area is considerably more difficult than to attack and simply invade it. History recounts that conditions prevailing at the time when an army attacks and invades an area are never the same as those when that army decides to stay on and keeps occupying it. Examples are: the British army during the colonial era; America's

imperialist army in Vietnam; and the Soviet army in Afghanistan (subsequently the official Afghan representative at the United Nations denounced the Soviet invasion).

If the Iraqis are able to temporarily hold on to a locale, they shall see — as they have no doubt already seen — that its continued occupation entails considerably greater losses than those they have so far sacrificed for imperialism's sake! The Iraqis may invade cities all right, but then the Iranians will surround those cities and clobber the Iraqis on land and by air, making it impossible for the Iraqis to defend themselves. Thus, Iranians will transform every war-torn city into a graveyard of thousands of American mercenaries, and will annihilate the enemy. Such a success will certainly rank as the most novel and extraordinary military operation in recent modern history.

Possibility (c).- If the Iraqis are defeated, there will be no more raison d'être for Iraq's Baath government. Unfortunately Saddam's insane regime continues to be an American lackey and is bent on fighting on until the whole Iraqi army is decimated. We say "unfortunately" because we do not wish to see the Iraqi soldiers killed. However, under the circumstances, we shall be forced to crush the Iraqi troops and their leaders.

In any event, Iranians shall be victorious: in addition to achieving martyrdom, we shall triumph because our ideals and principles are noble, lofty, and durable. In other words, "all our actions are motivated by our creed." As for the Iraqis, whether they invade an area or not, they are doomed to defeat because either Islam's heroes will liberate that area through repeated attacks or, like Napoleon's or Hitler's troops, the Iraqis will be buried in the snows of Western Iran, will suffer considerable losses and an ignominious defeat, and will be forced to retreat. And the Iraqi people will topple the Baath clique and stop the war.

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CSO: 4906

IRAN

BRIEFS

BLACKOUT REPORTED--All esteemed shopkeepers and tradesmen are hereby informed that effective today the blackout regulations will be enforced from 1800. Those wishing to continue work in their shops and stores must completely block any light emanating from their places of work and business. Violators will be dealt with according to legal provisions. [Signed] Tabriz Security Headquarters] [Text] [GF011613 Tabriz Domestic Service in Azeri 1527 GMT 1 Nov 80]

CSO: 4901

LISBON PAPER REPRINTS QADHDHAFI 2 OCTOBER INTERVIEW

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 5 Nov 80 (International Supplement) pp 1-5

[Apparent text of interview with Libyan Chief of State Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi by EPOCA journalists Francesco Frigieri and Mauro Galligani on 2 October 1980 in Tripoli: "World War III Is Imminent"]

[Excerpt] Question: Never, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi, have the Jamahiriya and its leader been so much at the center of international life as now. Politically, the plan for a merger with Syria is at an advanced stage; economically, there is the often threatened and always unilateral forecast of an increase in the price of oil; in military activity, there is the idea, as reported by much of the Western press, of an attack against U.S. military bases, wherever they are in the world.

Do you not believe, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi, that your importance is getting out of proportion to your country's real prospects and influence?

Al-Qadhdhafi: My role is closely in keeping with my country's needs and the contribution which it wishes to make to the plan for unity of the Arab nation. The fact is that outside Arab unity the Jamahiriya is like a fish out of water--that is, outside its natural element.

Question: Let us discuss the merger with Syria, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi. How do you believe that the plan can succeed, since it is a matter of two countries which are over 1,000 km apart and which have been living for many years with two different economies, since Syria is in an almost constant state of war, and since the Jamahiriya is perhaps in the year 2000 of its pastoral civilization but is in year dot of the technological era?

Al-Qadhdhafi: These arguments seem to be idle and unconstructive, typical of the doctrine and interests of colonialism and traditional weapons against the plan for Arab unity. You are Italian, aren't you? Well then, if Italy had flinched at such obstacles during all the wars of independence of the last century, you would not have achieved unity today. And if it is true that history repeats itself, why should we act differently?

Israel Thinks Only of Attacking

Question: You have said, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi, that if the struggle against Israel is not resumed as quickly as possible by the entire Arab nation, you would be prepared to join the Fedayeen.

Is that so? And do you believe, bearing in mind the policy of blocs, with the United States and Russia dividing up the world between them, that a widespread resumption of the war in the Middle East could be possible without interference?

Al-Qadhdhafi: As far as the first part of the question is concerned, I did not say that: I said, translating literally, that if the Libyan people did not accept unity with Syria, I would be determined to join the Fedayeen personally, to make my personal contribution to the struggle for the liberation of Palestine.

As far as the second part of the question is concerned I believe that, when a new war between Arabs and Israelis breaks out, if the superpowers' policy decides to interfere, this war will be transformed into a world conflict, and the blame will rest entirely with the superpowers. Take note: Palestine's protracted occupation by the Israelis is the outcome of the interference of the two blocs--of the United States and the USSR, together with France and Britain--which in order to maintain a hybrid status quo throughout the Middle East region guarantee the State of Israel objective protection and encourage its aggressive and colonialist policy: it will therefore be with them that the responsibility for a third world conflict will rest.

U.S. and USSR Squadrons Out of the Mediterranean

Question: I do not believe at all that the USSR is currently protecting Israel but, since you have always maintained that the Mediterranean is a lake of peace, I will ask you: In your opinion, the U.S. squadrons should be expelled from our seas, but should those of the USSR also be expelled?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Out with both of them. However, I would like to emphasize that, if World War III breaks out, we Arabs will not be responsible.

Question: I hope that no war will break out, but especially that no world war will break out, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi.

Al-Qadhdhafi: Yet, in my opinion, it is inevitable.

Question: Inevitable, Colonel?

Al-Qadhdhafi: If Palestine continues to be occupied by the Israelis, if the Arabs act to liberate it and if the United States intervenes to prevent this, how can a war fail to occur?

Question: The liberation of Palestine does not necessarily imply the kindling of a world conflagration, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi. That could only happen if the USSR intervenes militarily against the United States--something which in principle seems highly unlikely.

Al-Qadhdhafi: If the United States intervenes, Russia must necessarily intervene.

Question: Western thinking in this respect is rather more elastic, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi....

Al-Qadhdhafi: Western thinking is seeking to drown its own fears in indifference. But I say: Pay attention, since the occupation of Palestine and consequent U.S. behavior constitute the backcloth for the outbreak of a colonial war....

Question: For the probable, hypothetical outbreak of World War III....

Al-Qadhdhafi: No. World War III will certainly break out.

Question: And when do you forecast that this war will happen, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi?

Al-Qadhdhafi: When the Arab peoples are militarily ready.

Question: Theoretically, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi, they are ready now, because the Arabs' superiority in numbers and arms over Israel is an obvious fact.

Al-Qadhdhafi: This means that the tragedy is near....

Question: Is the war near, Colonel?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Of course, or do you believe that the Arabs do not have the right to liberate Palestine?

Question: That is not the point, Colonel: what I wish to point out carefully is that at this moment you, in your capacity as Libyan head of state, are maintaining to a Western journalist the inevitability of a very imminent world conflict resulting from a Middle East crisis which is already virtually under way in many respects. Since this statement by you will resound in the four corners of the world, I would like to repeat to you once more, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi: Are there not various nuances in your way of expressing yourself which I am perhaps unable to perceive and which make your reasoning less dramatic and more feasible?

Al-Qadhdhafi: The meaning which you have perceived is the correct one: the Arabs must liberate their land and war is inevitable. Only if the United States changed its policy and if the Palestinian people saw their demands satisfied could the conflict not break out. But that is impossible....

Question: Why impossible?

Do you not foresee a peaceful solution to the Palestinian problem, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Yes, but only if the Palestinians could return to their homeland....

Question: I desire this, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi, just as I desire that World War III should never happen.

Al-Qadhdhafi: All of us desire these things, dear friend. But desiring is one thing and reality is another. I repeat to you, once more, that the responsibility for the conflict will rest entirely with the Americans and Israelis.

Malta? Italy Does Not Guarantee Its Neutrality

Question: Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi, you are head of state and leader of a people, you have a family and you have affections: so you know that this dramatic analysis of yours which forecasts times of war will provoke anxiety and fear throughout the world. Are you certain, I repeat to you once more, that you do not wish to alter anything of what you have maintained so far?

Al-Qadhdhafi: The essence of what I said is correct. Certainly our concern for international peace is great, and our readiness to do everything possible to preserve it is also great. But we are unable to change U.S. policy and to end Israeli occupation of Palestine peacefully. Therefore....

Question: Relations between the Jamahiriya and Italy, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi, are not at present the happiest. The Italian press and the Western and European press in general frequently accuse your country, and you personally, of decisions connected with their respective national sovereignties. In order to finally end all doubts, I ask you to answer three questions: Is it true that Italian and European terrorists of rightwing or leftwing ideological inclinations have stayed in Libyan training camps? Is it true that you personally intervened in the revolutionary committees to make them stop executing Libyan citizens who had taken refuge abroad and had not obeyed your orders to return to their country? Is it true, with respect to the Saipem II [Italian oil platform] incident, that your latest decision is to seek in the first place to drill on the Medina banks, even despite the danger of a direct military confrontation between Libya and Malta and Italy, which is a guarantor of the latter's neutrality.

Al-Qadhdhafi: This matter of terrorism and of the training camps for terrorists on Libyan territory has now become an obsessive refrain, unsupported by a single shred of evidence. I will put a proposal to you: If there is anybody in your country who has information that these camps exist in our country, I authorize him to come here, show us where they are and I myself will accompany him there. And if it is true that there are terrorists where he says, I authorize him to call me a liar and [words illegible], you will have the biggest scoop of the year. However, I must tell you that those who at home maintain that there are [words illegible] Libya [words illegible], especially when they assert that I personally have been to visit them. It is a matter, in fact, of the camp in the forest of [words illegible]. I attended an international meeting of boy scouts, whom I greeted. [words illegible] seriously, I do not mind telling you that it is our forces which need military training and that we sent our young men to the countries which supply us with arms--France, Britain, Russia and also Italy--to learn how to handle them, and then they teach others.

If this is our objective situation, how do you suppose that we can find the time, the means and the desire to train rightwing and leftwing terrorists? If we had these means, do you not believe that logically our foremost

concern would be to train our own people? Moreover, by the same token, we cannot train your red and black-and-red terrorists because their ideology is diametrically opposed to ours. With respect to this matter, I wish to assure you once and for all, we are extremely strict. As far the revolutionary committees are concerned, the problem of the executions of the refugees abroad is true: I personally intervened with the committees to make them stop these actions.

As far as the Saipem II issue is concerned, I wish it to be known, firmly and officially, that we do not in fact wish to be the first to drill at Medina--on the contrary. We wish to wait until the international courts' verdict is known. However, allow me to make a polemical observation: It is not true that Italy is a guarantor of Malta's neutrality. In fact it is we who are among the countries which have objectively guaranteed that neutrality....

Question: But were you not recently on the brink of a rift between the Jamahiriyah and the Malta government?

Al-Qadhdhafi: It is you who are saying that... and then allow me to tell you that those who do not possess something cannot promise it to anybody....

Question: What do you mean, Colonel?

Al-Qadhdhafi: That Italy, which is a NATO member and in fact almost a U.S. colony, cannot bestow neutrality on itself and subsequently guarantee Malta's neutrality....

Question: It is clear that you do not have a very favorable opinion of my country, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi....

Al-Qadhdhafi: It is the pure truth; why are you offended? Libya, which is a real member of the nonaligned countries and which is truly neutral and non-aligned, can speak of neutrality and give Malta real guarantees. Italy, on the other hand, belongs to a military pact and therefore does not have an independent policy. How can it speak of guarantees for another country's neutrality?

Question: The demand for guaranteeing this neutrality stems from Maltese Prime Minister Dom Mintoff's invitation and not Italy's request, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi....

Al-Qadhdhafi: This is political chicanery which enjoys, let me tell you, very little credibility....

Question: Let us turn now to your thinking, Colonel: In the green book, in the Third World theory, you assert that you have identified the Bible of the new era. But the state toward which you are aiming does not spring crystal-clear from your philosophy. What state is the state of utopia, in fact?

Al-Qadhdhafi: What state of utopia? In Libya, the state which springs from the teachings of the green book is currently being practiced....

Question: It is being practiced, yes, but not achieved. The Jamahiriya, Colonel, is making gigantic strides in its process of transformation, but the goal is still very far away. Do you believe that it is possible to reach it within a reasonable space of time?

Al-Qadhdhafi: It must be clearly understood that in Libya, as the green book advocates, power is in the hands of the people through the congresses and the people's committees; I believe that this is an objective reality. It does not seem to me a distant goal that the regular army, in accordance with the Third World theory, is destined to disappear in order to be replaced by the people themselves. And that homes should belong to those who live in them and that in industries the workers should become bosses and partners and not employees, as state of the masses envisages; it seems to me that this has already been abundantly achieved here in the Jamahiriya....

Question: It is true, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi; posters with the slogan "partners and no longer employees" appear on all the walls in the country. But who pays for losses when they occur under this partnership system?

Al-Qadhdhafi: The whole of society. Or do you believe that losses must be borne only by the weakest?

Question: In an economy which is undergoing transformation, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi, society cannot pay for the losses if there is no natural endowment....

Al-Qadhdhafi: So you mean that only the poorest should pay for them....

The Entire World Will Soon Be Like the Jamahiriya

Question: Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi: Let us set aside populism: you can afford the luxury of not being pragmatic, because the oil allows you to undertake plans for various reforms....

Al-Qadhdhafi: On the contrary, the poorer the country, the greater its need to implement this theory....

Question: But it would be unable to pay for the losses and would rapidly go bankrupt....

Al-Qadhdhafi: What I am saying is that in your present society, it is the weakest--the workers and the consumers—who pay for the losses, while capitalist industry always increases its incentives. All this should be eliminated and the losses, if they occur, should be paid for by the entire community. For instance, the Jamahiriya we have extirpated the trickery represented by the fragmentary distribution network: we have eliminated the small, medium and large businesses of every kind and set up large community supermarkets, where the goods pass directly from the producer to the consumer. This eliminates the middleman and hence exploitation. Thus the Third World theory is already being implemented in one of its aspects.

Question: That is possible in the Jamahiriyah, Colonel, but it is more difficult in other countries....

Al-Qadhdhafi: The entire world will soon be a Jamahiriyah

Question: The entire world, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Yes, the entire world.

Question: In your address at the symposium on philosophical thought, organized at the teaching faculty of the Al-Fatih University in Tripoli (13-20 September—ed), you harshly criticized positivism, linking pragmatism, existentialism and Marxism together. Identifying pragmatism as the philosophy of U.S. capitalism, existentialism as the Western doctrine and Marxism as the dogma of the East-bloc countries, you resolved the problem "tout court," by attributing the same trends in contemporary thought to currents which in fact have very few points of contact. Do you not believe that your address reveals, above all, an intensification of your personal stance of a religious nature?

Al-Qadhdhafi: In speaking at the Al-Fatih symposium, I did not proceed or act in accordance with religious inclinations but in a strictly scientific manner. I did not speak as an Arab and Muslim but objectively, dispensing with pragmatism, existentialism and Marxism. Moreover, it is clear that the traditional doctrines have never resolved mankind's problem: thus we find ourselves today at the beginning of the work confronting us to perform this task, since pragmatism, Marxism and existentialism have failed resoundingly as philosophical currents. It is, therefore, necessary to seek a new doctrine, and this doctrine can only be that stemming from the green book....

Question: Let us now talk about Islam: Are you convinced that Christians and Jews are an integral part of Islam? Does not all this seem to you a little too much? You have encouraged the translation of the Koran into many languages, but you have not been spared criticisms in this respect. Do you deem them justified?

Al-Qadhdhafi: From the philosophical viewpoint, all believers are Muslims, even the Christians and also the Jews since, from the viewpoint of God, they could all be Muslims since they believe in God. But if they can all be regarded as Muslims, each is free to follow his prophet, and so there are those who follow Moses, there are those who follow Jesus, and so forth....

Question: There is only one God?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Exactly, and the Koran does not oppose this interpretation but generously accommodates the deeds of these prophets in its pages. In fact Muhammad's followers recognize Jesus and Moses, just as they recognize Muhammad. If they did not recognize them, their religion would be impoverished. For its part, Christianity, with very little charity, consigns Muhammad to the depths of hell.

As far as the translation of the Koran is concerned, this has proved to be a very important factor, because Christians and Jews have had the opportunity to become acquainted with it, and through it to understand their religions

better. Why? Because in the Bible, which is a popular romance more than a book of God, in addition to true stories there are also incredible lies: thus I personally learned about Moses, Jesus and Mary through the Koran and thus, like myself, Christians and Jews have had the opportunity to learn the real truth through the Koran, translated into various languages. The Koran is the word of God, whereas the other holy books are words of men and not of God; therefore, here lies the deepest difference, here lies the importance of having translated the Koran.

Women Are Not Regarded as Human Beings

Question: Let us return to the green book, Colonel Al-Qadhafi: You maintain that democracy is joint government by all equal men and that only when the masses attain power will they become strong and really govern. But are you convinced that it is, in fact, the people who govern in the Jamahiriyah? Or rather, are you not, Colonel Al-Qadhafi, the only man who can give orders in the entire country?

Al-Qadhafi: May I laugh? Do you permit me to laugh without offending you? In fact it is true that I manipulate the facts to lead the people: my presence in the Jamahiriyah is not detrimental but beneficial. I am seeking to increase the people's power and am striving to this end and not the reverse.

Question: The green book speaks of feminism and related problems: can you explain them to Western women?

Al-Qadhafi: I believe that half the world, which is represented by women, is living in a state of complete subjection: I assert that women are slaves throughout the world. The East, where women are most misused, has its counterpart in the West where domestic practices stifle women's innermost nature: in practice, the state of slavery is the same. I believe that in the West, women can gain no rights unless they become men and abandon their own selves entirely, and that is an injustice which demands revenge. In the East, moreover, women are often not even treated as human beings but like any other kind of chattel. This is not even an injustice but a crime which is made light of. Therefore, the world must experience a real feminist revolution which will have the success which it rightly deserves, so that women will be respected without being forced to become men or being treated like a chattel.

Question: I think that, as far as women are concerned, your charisma will henceforth be unassailable, that henceforth you will be the idol of women all over the world. But let us pass on to a problem of concern to all mankind: it is true, colonel, that the Jamahiriyah is preparing to have its own nuclear bomb?

Al-Qadhafi: I would like to reply officially to this report through your magazine: the Jamahiriyah has no nuclear bomb and is not about to have one. But I would like to enquire in this connection: why does the world not pay attention to all the nuclear devices that already exist instead of

bothering so much about the Jamahiriyah's hypothetical nuclear bomb? We are worried about all these nuclear devices and all those which the members of the so-called nuclear pool are constructing day after day: man's very existence is imperiled by the excessive presence of bombs under the control of a few arrogant countries. So why deceive world public opinion, why draw attention to an unlikely Libyan nuclear bomb instead of drawing attention to the American, Russian, French, British, Indian and Chinese nuclear bombs already snug in the arsenals; We want to destroy all these bombs which infest the planet and create no more. Having established this principle, what technical capability do we have for manufacturing this bomb?

Question: Well, it appears that you do not lack the capability, Colonel Al-Qadhafi: a few months ago a specialist magazine published in the United States carried an advertisement in which the Jamahiriyah asked for nuclear technicians for a nuclear complex which was being constructed in the desert.

Al-Qadhafi: What complex in the desert? The advertisement probably refers to the engagement of science teachers for the Al-Fatih University in Tripoli. Perhaps the world wants to stop us using nuclear energy for teaching and peaceful purposes?

Question: No, Colonel, only for bellicose purposes....

Al-Qadhafi: I am telling you that we need teachers for university faculties and not technicians to stockpile nuclear bombs. As for the rest, it is reactionary propaganda aimed at stifling our technical progress.

Question: I know that you do not like talking about your private life, but to Western public opinion you are too public a man to have the right to a completely private life.

Is it true that you have married four times and have six children? Is it true that you often hop into an old Peugeot and drive around Tripoli and Benghazi without an escort, in order to ascertain that everything is going well in the country?

And, if so, do you not get the feeling that in the Jamahiriyah the people are bored, that they pass their spare time just loafing around without the slightest incentive?

Al-Qadhafi: Believe me, I don't have four wives....

Question: I am happy for you, Colonel Al-Qadhafi. You would have at least four problems piling up....

Al-Qadhafi: I have only one wife and the problem, as you call it, although only one, tends at times to mount up of its own accord. I have five children, not six. The first is named for my eldest uncle, who was the chief of my tribe, and is called Sa'd, which means fate. The second is Mu'tasim Billah, which means literally one who seeks the protection of God. The name of my little daughter, 'A'ishah, which means life, is the unforgettable name of

my late mother. I have another boy, Sayf al-Islam, whose name means sword of Islam, and the last is called Muhammad, like the prophet, also the name of my old father, whom I love and respect as one of my closest advisers. As for the other things you mentioned, it is true that I drive around Tripoli and Benghazi, as I do around all the other cities in the Jamahiriya: I know that the security services tear their hair when I manage to elude them, but the outcome of the operation is satisfactory because I can see that all is well in Libya, that the people are truly free to do what they want to do and that they can spend their free time as they wish. My dear friend, there are no repressive laws in the Jamahiriya....

Question: Perhaps, Colonel, there are no ways of spending free time....

Al-Qadhafi: Who put that idea into your head? Perhaps there is a difference between what you want in terms of recreation dynamics and what the Libyan people want. I do not believe that the people are bored, as you say. The Jamahiriya does not have a government which imposes a certain kind of life: the people are autonomous, they are able to control their lives as suits them best.

Question: Colonel Al-Qadhafi, hitherto it has been difficult for the Arab nation to dispute your charismatic leadership: the star of the aged Khomeyni may, however, eclipse your role. Is that possible?

Al-Qadhafi: On the contrary, I am happy to find Khomeyni on the world scene. To me Khomeyni is a father, a kind of grandfather: after all, we are of the same origin....

Question: Origin in what sense?

Al-Qadhafi: From the same Qabilah, that is, from the same tribe. I repeat, I am very happy that Khomeyni exists: I hope that he can go on performing his valuable role for a long time to come.

I Like Garibaldi, the Force Behind the Revolution

Question: Colonel Al-Qadhafi, who is the person who has most influenced your political, military and religious life?

Al-Qadhafi: There have been many. Those whose historical role I have respected must include Sun Yat-sen, founder and first president of the Chinese Republic in 1911 and the man who forced Emperor Pu-yi to abdicate. I read his biography and was impressed by the clarity of his actions and his thinking and fascinated by the way he managed to destroy a corrupt and ineffectual monarchy through the foundation of the Tong Meng Hui, the United League, based on the three principles of the people.

As for Italy, I made a profound study of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour. Garibaldi was the force behind your revolution, which you call the "Risorgimento" if I am not mistaken. Cavour was the brains, Mazzini the guiding light.

When I was young I learned a lot about Abraham Lincoln, a genius who was able to become a celebrated lawyer without attending a university. If I am not mistaken he found some legal texts in an abandoned attic and read them in the forest, sitting on a tree trunk. During the war of secession he used to send written orders to his commanders. On rereading these texts I confess to thinking many times that, if I had been in the recipients' shoes, I would not have had the courage to carry them out. Another great man in every way was Gandhi, a person whom I admire and appreciate for his calling, which he put into practice; a man who always lived for others. As you can see, I like humility and self-denial sublimated in work.

Question: A little while ago it was reported in the West that your army's 6th Brigade, stationed in Tobruk, had mutinied and violent action had to be taken to restore order. Is it true? If not, are you sure that the people of the Jamahiriya are all behind their leader, as propaganda would have us believe?

Al-Qadhafi: It is not true. Nothing happened in Tobruk. I know that I run the risk of becoming tiresome, but I can see that I have to keep on repeating it. The army does not have a predominant role in the Jamahiriya's political sphere: in fact it is the people's component which has a weightier role than the military. Having established that, I will say that in Tobruk an NCO and three soldiers were corrupted by the Egyptian secret services. The latter used two Italian economic agents who abused the trust and privileges they had been given by the people of the Jamahiriya. They were discovered, they tried to escape but were caught. And that's it.

Question: Was it corruption or a plot?

Al-Qadhafi: I repeat, it was a provocative act organized by the Cairo secret services. Little was actually achieved, so much so that when we took those whom the West imagined to be conspirators we also captured the code they were using. Nothing unusual there.

Question: The war between Iran and Iraq modifies the plan for unifying the Arab people: who, in your view, is objectively responsible for the conflict? Khomeyni, with his anachronistic intolerance, or Saddam Husayn, with his desire to perform a police function in the Arab Gulf on orders, allegedly at least, from the USSR?

And what efforts have you made to get the warring sides to restore peace?

Al-Qadhafi: I think that this fratricidal war--fratricidal because it is being fought between brother Muslims--was stage-managed by the United States and Israel. I do not believe the USSR has interfered in it. On the contrary, I think that the Soviet leaders were taken by surprise when hostilities broke out.

Question: Is that your personal belief?

Al-Qadhafi: I think that it is, above all, a political reality rather than a personal belief.

Question: In the West one is led to believe the opposite: that it was the USSR which pushed Iraq into war.

Al-Qadhafi: But why should it do that? The Iranian stance is favorable to the USSR in that it is opposed to U.S. policy.

Question: You are forgetting the problems of the 30 million Muslims living in the USSR, who are urging Moscow to help topple the Khomeyni regime and calm the religious ferment in the country....

Al-Qadhafi: I do not see how Russia could oppose a revolution which is fighting against colonialism....

Question: Unfortunately, Russia opposes many other things, Colonel Al-Qadhafi.

Al-Qadhafi: I am not Russia's defense lawyer. The information I have is political. Information I am inclined to trust.

As for efforts to resolve the conflict, at the very beginning I sent messages to the parties involved, and at the next Arab countries' foreign ministers conference we will try to resolve the conflict in a way that is most in keeping with the urgency of a solution.

I Have No Income, I Eat, Drink and Dress Myself

Question: Colonel Al-Qadhafi, I think you are au fait with the latest Italian political events, the Cossiga government resigned, a major factor in its resignation being its attitude toward the Fiat management which demanded the dismissal of 15,000 workers. Therefore, since the Jamahiriya has 10 percent and even, some say, 13 percent of the shares in the Turin enterprise, since it is, at any rate, in relative, a major shareholder, what is your view, Colonel Al-Qadhafi, of the Turin situation?

Al-Qadhafi: Certainly what is happening at Fiat is in clear contrast to the principles expressed in my green book: we are on the side of the workers under threat of dismissal; in no way do we agree with the action of the Turin enterprise management, despite being shareholders.

Question: If the Fiat workers decided to occupy the enterprise how would you react, Colonel Al-Qadhafi?

Al-Qadhafi: But we are asking them to occupy the factory....

Question: Would you repeat that, please....

Al-Qadhafi: I will emphasize what I was about to say, and I want this message to reach the management: they should occupy the enterprise until what they deem a positive solution is found. The people of the Jamahiriya give them their moral support and put the weight of their shareholder involvement behind them.

Question: Talking about workers, what do you earn a month?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I try not to have an income: all I need is to eat, drink and dress myself....

Question: But you have a family, and that requires you to have an income....

Al-Qadhdhafi: I will say that the Jamahiriya permits me to provide for my family's needs.

Question: Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi: You are forever saying that you live for your people, that you belong to your people and that you act only for your people. So you must be well acquainted with the people of the Jamahiriya and their fundamental needs, earnings and outgoings. Can you tell me, then, what a public bus ticket costs in Tripoli?

Al-Qadhdhafi: ...maybe one piaster..... No, two piasters.

Question: Yes, two piasters, Colonel. But this reply was prompted by one of the interpreters....

Al-Qadhdhafi: Yes it was, I can't deny it. When I said the price was one piaster I was thinking of specific classes, like students, soldiers and old people who can claim a 50-percent discount....

Question: Let us accept that, Colonel. But moving on to a more serious argument, do you not regard as excessive the 15 billion-lira war damage claim made against Germany and Italy? And don't you think that a claim going back 35 years is a bit late?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I don't think it is excessive. As regards its lateness, it is not a remedy with a fixed term or a food product which goes off after a certain time. Even today children in the Jamahiriya are getting killed as a result of playing with objects abandoned or hidden during the war. Is there a time limit on this? No. Reparation is a right which does not lapse.

Question: Do you contemplate the possibility of making an official trip to Italy in the near future?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I want this trip to happen soon, as soon as we have agreed on the procedure for reparation in connection with war damage.

Question: I do not see how there can be an agreement on the basis of a 15-billion claim.

Al-Qadhdhafi: But the damage has to be compensated for....

Question: If you want recognition in principle I think it would be difficult to deny you. But if it is money, I seriously doubt, Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi, whether the question can be resolved quickly....

Al-Qadhdhafi: It is not, I repeat, so much a matter of money as of reaching an agreement.

Question: I cannot imagine what kind of agreement, Colonel. Maybe, instead of money we could give you, at most, Sicily or Sardinia, or Tuscany if you prefer....

Al-Qadhdhafi: You like to play games. But let's imagine that we went to Italy and did the same as you did here.

Question: Perhaps it would be best then to reach an agreement.

Al-Qadhdhafi: You see, you too think that an agreement is best....

Question: One final question, Colonel: Deep down, are you a happy man?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I am profoundly preoccupied with fate, with the future of the world which is currently full of problems and injustice; of political and economic problems; of violence by the strong against the weak, by the rich against the poor. The current situation is not a happy one, the future is full of unknown quantities, mankind is sitting on a keg of dynamite which could be detonated in an instant. What can you do to be happy? You can be happy at the level of your own family or people, but you cannot be happy in absolute terms. Therefore, I am not.

CSO: 4820

ALGERIA'S PLAN TO ENCIRCLE MOROCCO OUTLINED

Casablanca LIBERATION in French 10-16 Oct 80 p 5

[Text] Recently three Algerian airplanes landed in Mali. A large quantity of arms was off-loaded. These arms are not destined for Mali, but for a POLISARIO base situated about 150 km north of Bamaka. The transport of this war materiel was accomplished with the full knowledge of the Mali authorities. The Malian Government knows of this base. The Algerian Government supplies it with arms, munitions and men recruited in the region. It is very important.

There is an airport right on the Mauritanian-Malian border whose purpose is to receive the Libyan or Algerian planes that are resupplying the POLISARIO with arms. This airport has already been mentioned in the press. Its operations are no longer a secret.

In Mauritania, a natural port was used for launching attacks against fishing boats operating in Moroccan territorial waters, and to receive the kidnapped fishermen before they were sent on to Algeria. This port was bombarded and destroyed by Moroccan air power.

But other sites on the Mauritanian coast continue to be used for the same purpose.

Mauritania is a pool of manpower for the enemies of our territorial integrity. The recruitment campaign which has been held there for several months has significantly changed the physiognomy of the POLISARIO. Presently, at least 60 per cent of its active troops come from Mauritania. The latter is crammed with attack bases. The activity of POLISARIO there is increasingly intense, to such a point that it is legitimate to pose the question: Who, really, is in charge in Mauritania? The CMSN [Military Committee for National Salvation] or POLISARIO?

At Las Palmas, on the Canary Islands, the Algerian camp has connections which enable it to carry out the inspection of trawlers.

On the high seas, there are floating bases that take an active role in these acts of piracy. The Affair of the Cuban boat is one example of this.

And, naturally, the heart of all this is located in southern Algeria. Right where Algeria has set up the bases from which military operations against Morocco are launched.

What can one deduce from all this?

Algeria is sealing Morocco off. After diplomatic isolation, it is trying to encircle Morocco and to weave about it a webbing of military attacks. This strategy is not new, but its continued escalation presents serious threats to the security of our country and the safeguarding of its territorial integrity.

It is true that Morocco's military position has much improved. Especially since the start of the large-scale sweeping operations undertaken by the FAR [Royal Armed Forces] starting in March 1980 in the Ouarkiz. For about 5 months, the enemy was unable to act on the ground. The fighting which resumed in early September shows that the FAR's initiative is thwarting our enemies and obliging them to acknowledge heavy losses. While the foreign forces of aggression are losing morale more and more, and their numbers are dwindling, the bravery and the good morale of the Moroccan forces have suffered no erosion.

On the contrary, the depth and firmness of their love and concern for their country gives them inexhaustible force when they go into battle: the pursuit of the sweeping operations in the northern region of the Saharan provinces has facilitated the destruction of several enemy bases, of stores of supplies, and the cutting of several roads used by armed bands coming from Algeria. The FAR's apparent objective in this region is to shut off the border definitively, and thus to deprive POLISARIO of any chance of infiltration.

However this may not be enough to lead automatically to the final defeat of our enemies. The face of the war will change, but the Algerian camp does not give the impression of wanting to put an end to the war it is making on us. The forces of aggression which it has set up all around Morocco prove it is going to continue a bellicose policy. It continues to field an army composed in large part of Mauritians in order to make people believe in the Saharan origin of the mercenaries. It is equipping the army with increasingly sophisticated armaments.

One hundred twenty-eight [-mm] Stalin organs that fire 21 rockets simultaneously with a range of up to 28 km, 33-mm rapid fire artillery, "SAM-9" aerial missiles more powerful than the "SAM-7," etc. For the moment, the concentration of fighting in the Oued Draa region is the main act. Destroying the enemy in this region will greatly weaken the bases in Tindouf. But it is essential not to lose sight of the other aspects of the Algerian strategy that rest on the diplomatic and military encirclement of Morocco. It is this encirclement that must be broken.

9516
CSO: 4400

BOURGUIBA CALLS FOR PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURE STOCK-RAISING

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 31 Oct 80 p 1

[Text] The council of ministers held its weekly meeting at the palace of government at the Kasbah yesterday morning, Thursday, 30 October, under the chairmanship of the chief of state.

Following deliberations, Mr Fouad Mebazaa, minister of information and cultural affairs, made the following statement:

"At the request of the president of the republic, the minister of agriculture made a presentation on stock-raising.

"The minister made a special note of measures taken in accordance with the recommendations of the Supreme Champion with respect to the importation of sheep to be raised in the various regions of the country.

"The president of the republic put special emphasis on the importance of stock-raising for the economy of the country and recommended sustained effort toward development of this sector in order to meet our dairy product needs.

"The chief of state also underlined the necessity of promoting sheep-raising and importing new strains able to acclimatize themselves in both northern and southern Tunisia.

"He recalled in this connection the need to develop and improve pasturage in order to bring about both quantitative and qualitative increases in animal production.

"The minister of planning and finance delivered remarks about directions in the next decade of development and the objectives of the Fifth Plan.

"In his presentation, the minister noted especially the increases in the volume of investments and underlined the necessity to continue the effort in order to build savings and accelerate the pace of growth in industry.

"The chief of state highlighted the necessity of reducing consumption and in particular consumption of imported products and of promoting exports in order to free up additional resources for our development effort.

"He also recommended hastening the completion of major job-creating projects in the industrial and agricultural sectors."

We also note that the presidential entourage arrived, at about 1000, at Government Square at the Kasbah, where the chief of state was received by Mohamed Mzali, the prime minister, Habib Bourguiba Jr., special adviser to the president of the republic, and Mongi Kooli, deputy prime minister and director of the PSD [Destourian Socialist Party].

In front of the palace of government President Bourguiba saluted the flag while a military band played the national anthem.

After having reviewed an army detachment present in his honor the chief of state shook hands with members of the government and then stopped to respond to the ovation of the citizens who were massed in Government Square to acclaim the Leader of the Nation.

President Bourguiba was accompanied from Carthage Palace to the Palace of Government by Allala Laouiti, head of the special secretariat for the chief of state and by M'heddeb Rouissi, governor-president of the council of the District of Tunis.

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TUNISIA

INTERVIEW WITH ECONOMIC MINISTER

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 23 Oct 80 pp 4,5,7

[Interview with Mr Abdelaziz Lasram, Tunisian minister of national economy, date, place, and interviewer unspecified]

[Text] The next development plan is being prepared. It is hoped this one will see the definitive take-off of our national economy. What will be its main directions?

In an interview with LA PRESSE, Mr Abdelaziz Lasram, minister of the national economy, responds to this question as well as to others related to various aspects of Tunisian economic life.

Mr Lasram, in his answers, stresses the importance that will be given to the development of machine and electrical industries and underlines the need for Tunisia to strengthen cooperation with the countries that have reached a level of economic development comparable to our own, especially the countries of the Maghreb.

Employment, tourism, the API [expansion unknown], the Equalization Fund, decentralization, standardization of industrial products, energy, and diversification of products and markets are also subjects of great importance which the minister of national economy was kind enough to discuss.

[Question] Tunisia is getting ready to launch itself into a turning point in its development which should lead it to the attainment of a new stage in the fields of industry and tourism. Can you, Mr Minister, at this point in the preparation of the Plan, clarify for us the broad directions and perspectives of industrial development?

[Answer] The new Plan will be oriented basically toward industries, but much more sophisticated industries than those realized during the preceding phases. If, in fact, the first Plan in some fashion served to put to use Tunisia's raw materials, to exploit them to the maximum, or at the very least to improve the exploitation, and the second served to create what could be called the substitution industries--that is, those that were appropriate to create in order to satisfy the needs of the domestic market--the third will rather be oriented toward machine, electrical, chemical, and even agricultural industries. Agriculture being, in our opinion, one of the factors for possible development.

The Plan being prepared will thus be centered on industrial development. We will continue to consolidate the sectors wherein we already have achieved good results: I am thinking in particular of heavy chemistry that we succeeded in developing, and whose technology we have mastered, such as phosphoric acid with all the products and the variations of production and the phosphate derivatives. In this connection, without false modesty we can state that in this field Tunisia is perhaps the only country in the developing world to set and reach the goal of transforming on site on the order of 75 percent of its phosphate. This is an absolutely astounding figure, which proves that our country has acquired the necessary technical mastery. At the beginning, phosphate was sold in its raw state. Then we went to super-simple then to super-triple, then to phosphoric acid all the way to DAP [expansion unknown]. Next we will go on to a certain number of products which will give us a very wide range of Tunisian products that will be flowing in good conditions into the international market. One must also not forget that in the field of fluorine Tunisia has also logged good results.

The tourist industry is also a successful sector which we intend to strengthen. Tourism in fact offers not insignificant development possibilities, which we should exploit, since Tunisia is in a stage which requires the exploitation of all available resources. Nevertheless, we have set ourselves limits, as this sector should not take up more than 4 percent of our PIB [expansion unknown].

But, beyond the consolidation of sectors where we have succeeded, such as tourism and chemical industry, we should also search out new paths, for, given Tunisia's need for jobs and income, we are obliged to produce more in order to be able to meet all our import needs. The production structure is such, in reality, in our country, that we remain dependent on foreign sources for supplies in several products such as milk, wood, coffee, and a certain number of equipment goods indispensable to the smooth progress of the economy.

What can we produce to meet our import requirements?

We think that the machine industry can be one of the fields where Tunisia could carve out a development path, this industry being one of the basic, fundamental industries with vast potential for development.

We are thus in the process of examining the possibilities and seeing what there is in our country that could contribute to the development of this sector.

We are aware of the fact that this enterprise necessitates technology transfer. Are we in a position to do this by ourselves? I think not. Events have unfortunately shown--as have the many negotiations in the framework of the North-South dialog--that things were not so simple, or so easy. So we think that we should join with countries that have reached a level of development comparable to ours, both in the economic sphere and on the social, with whom we have multiple and unique ties, whether geographic, linguistic, racial, or religious. We must strive for what we call development of relations with these countries, for horizontal inter-industrial exchanges that can be the basis of a start of technology transfer. If for example we put together the technologies of the Moroccans, the Algerians, and the Tunisians, we will not perhaps reach that of the Europeans, but all the same we will have climbed several steps nearer. Up to now each of these countries has followed a different path, but at the present

time there is an awakening going on, and this could be a new force throughout the Arab world. We sense the birth of a political will and of determination by the masses to push for more horizontal cooperation than before, which would first of all give us access to new technologies through inter-industrial exchanges among our countries, and on the other hand would constitute a more solid front when we show up for these or how difficult negotiations with the industrials, and by means of which we try to see that the industry created in Tunisia will not be a simple assembly industry or conditionnement [translation unknown] industry, but real industry.

So, to summarize the main directions we are following: maintenance of development in the fields which performed satisfactorily during the preceding phases, that is to say both the exploitation of necessary resources in all their forms and their maximized elaboration in our country, and the strengthening of the tourist sector by establishing for it rather ambitious targets which however are easily within our grasp, without for all that making it a critically large part of our PIB; and next the search for new industrial callings, particularly in the fields of machine-industry and electrical industry, which can be value-added [enterprises] that do not necessitate raw materials. I can say that, along with agriculture, industry is the master-key by which we will either succeed or fail in our development, and our pay-off will come at the end of the decade just now started.

What is also important, I would say in conclusion, since we are speaking of directions, is that we are counting on the private sector to come up with the largest share of the effort in this domain. We think that the Tunisian state has already made sufficiently great efforts, has done the basics, has invested much in the production sectors, and we think that presently the industrials can fulfill their role much better than they have up to now. They should not devote themselves solely to substitution industries, conditioning, and assembly. They should also try to orient themselves somewhat toward real industry. In order for them to do this, the government presently intends to put at their disposal sufficient means, through the famous development banks that are going to be created and which are certainly going to serve to support and enhance development activity in the field of industry.

Real Industry Is That Which Adds Real Industrial Value

[Question] You just made a distinction between what you called assembly industry and real industry. Could we know what you understand by real industry?

[Answer] Real industry is that which adds real industrial value and not just economic added-value. It is industry when an element properly its own is introduced. There is an example a professor gave me once and which illustrates maximum added-value. This watch weighs 50 or 100 grams and as pure steel is worth about 2 cents. After having been worked, this steel is resold at 300 dinars. This is perhaps the ultimate in technological elaboration. The worst example would be that of a man who gets a drumful of perfume concentrate and empties it into bottles, by mixing it with water. There you have two extremely contrasting images to compare the two kinds of industry. So a real industry should bring technology to bear. To make a piece of machinery is to introduce a whole new art, a whole technology which necessitates a whole structure which becomes definitively established. And

here, I think that what has been done by way of efforts allows us to hope this country will have access to this kind of industry. It is obvious, for example, that the chemical industry, which is not after all so elaborate, is a real industry because the initial product quite as much as the technology used is 100 percent Tunisian, and so is the value-added, almost entirely, with the exception of accessory materials. Textiles is also a not insignificant industrial field. I could cite you many other examples. Thank God Tunisia has them.

If, therefore, we have decided to opt for machine and electrical industries, it is exactly because they are sectors where the value added, the human value, and the part played by human hands and heads is important. Now like others Tunisians do not have many raw materials, so we are obliged to choose industries adapted to the situation of our country.

We consider presently that Tunisians are good workers and good technicians, and that education and vocational training in Tunisia have been well developed. We think, therefore, and I hope with good reason, that the machine and electrical industries are perhaps the only industrial fields where the value of the individual makes the difference, whereas in other fields to succeed one must have a big market, or capital, or cheap materials. These sectors are thus especially well adapted to the Tunisian man who remains our principal capital.

But as I already said, it would be difficult for us to guarantee substantial development in this sector without engaging in industrial exchanges with our neighboring countries. The reciprocal values-added that could be achieved would enable much progress to be made.

This is also the object of our continual negotiations with the European countries. When we receive the big leaders of the French, Italian, or German economy, it is these very problems that we discuss. We tell them that this is a part, a small facet, linked to Tunisia, of the North-South dialog, which we are trying to develop.

Our success or failure will depend therefore on the cooperation we will have been able to establish with our horizontal partners, and in particular with our Arab Brothers, on what we are going to accomplish with the Arab countries with which we have major economic ties, and above all on what the Tunisian as an industrial and as a worker can show by way of technological mastery and capacity to absorb, because in the last analysis, it is not solely the role of the administration to undertake these technological negotiations; it is rather the role of industrial leaders to make direct contacts either with their buyers, or their sellers, their partners or associates. I said elsewhere, in the last UTICA Congress (Tunisian Union for Industry, Trade, and Crafts), the same thing. We are banking a great deal on the activity of Tunisian chiefs of enterprises, small and medium-sized, to develop this aspect which could in the Tunisian context be one of the most visible battlements.

[Question] One doesn't hear much said these days about small and medium-sized enterprises? Is this just coincidence, or in reality have other paths been chosen?

[Answer] I have said a great deal about small and medium-sized enterprises during the last UTICA congress. We want these industries to continue to develop. We want a new wave of young Tunisian industrials not content to limit themselves to being traditional suppliers, not reluctant to go to Algeria or Morocco to go see on site the new possibilities their counterparts can offer in these countries. They should be organized by sector for greater efficiency.

By virtue of their size and because of the human relations that can be developed in them, we consider the small and medium-sized enterprises as very supple and flexible enterprises, and encouragement of them is a part of our design. It is also the goal of JOPRODI [expansion unknown]. We are also considering amending the '74 laws to adapt them better to the needs of our investors.

Jobs Remain a Priority: But Not at Any Price

[Question] Doesn't this option of calling for industries with much more technology risk limiting the possibilities for creation of jobs even while this remains our top priority, and even while the Fifth Plan, though based on job-creating industries to a greater extent, has not reached all its goals in this area?

[Answer] Yes. Jobs remain an undeniable and indisputable priority for us. Nevertheless it is obvious that without technology transfers, jobs will cost so dear that we will not be able to create more of them. If we create jobs in a field where there is practically no value added, the jobs will bring no real enrichment to the country. This is the case of the person who takes two sub-assemblies, assembles them, puts a screw in each side, and delivers the final product to the consumer, deducting his dime for the trouble. This is an economic, not industrial, added-value: he buys the product at reduced price and retails it on the Tunisian market at a better price. Such employment is in the last analysis very costly and it would perhaps be more rewarding to eliminate this job without a counterpart and buy a product of better quality at a better price abroad, taking a profit from the delays in the settlement of the transaction.

Employment, along with decentralization, remains our principal objective. But the transfers of technology and real industry are a necessity if the intention is to create a minimum of added-value in order to be able to engender income. The national income being a total of added-values that are created, we must have as much as possible to be able to continue to export certain products and have industrial exchanges with the outside world. Jobs remain our priority. But not at any price.

The Work of API has Been Beneficial Overall

[Question] While we are on the subject of industry, we would like to know what you think of the API. In the 7 years that the Agency for Investment Promotion [API] has existed, it has contributed to the creation of several industrial projects. Do you think it is time to take somewhat of a fresh look at its orientation, at its policy?

[Answer] The API has rarely been described properly. API is the Tunisian government, the Tunisian administration. Many people seem unaware that API grants no permits at all, that it is the minister of the national economy who does it.

It is an entity which was created for a specific purpose: that of investment promotion. That means that the agency is an entity which receives background information, which gives out guidance, which informs people, which makes certain studies to encourage people to locate in one region or another. Its administrative council, which is composed of representatives of various departments concerned, was conceived in this way out of concern to facilitate the activity of the agency so that the investor, from the moment he is going to invest, finds himself dealing with one sole interlocutor and is not obliged to pay 15, 20, 30 visits to customs, to the tax office, to the directorate of commerce, to the employment office, etc., as was the case in '62, '63, and '64 at the time when I was in the administration. To avoid all these steps and all these procedures, and in order to make investment attractive and not forbidding, the government created the agency, whose role basically is to make conditions adequate to facilitate investment. It is thus really an emanation of the administration, and as I said it has no power to make decisions, since these decisions are inoperative until signed by the minister of the national economy.

One must say that up to now the agency has played its role well: the number of projects that have been launched during the previous plan is there for testimony. It enabled industrialists and also several organizations to make contact much easier with Tunisia and to have a precise understanding of the requirements for locating there. Over the last 7 years it has made itself a valuable partner to Tunisian industrialists, and foreigners have found it a first-class partner. It is only justice to say this: it has often been said to me, and our partners have regularly confirmed this to me. So I can say that the work has been beneficial overall. Ultimately it serves simply to paint a picture of the government's decisions [on development and investment], of its policies and of the policy of the Tunisian legislature which put in place the laws that it applies. Its success or failure is the success or failure of the policy of the government, since it only implements the policy dictated to it. Is it not clear?

The API Is the Extension of the Administration Whose Policy It Implements

[Question] Yes. You probably think that in posing this question I was making an allusion to the fact that certain industrialists, certain investors, whether rightly or wrongly, say that this agency has become somewhat of an impediment, that it sometimes acts as a "brake" or merely an additional layer of red tape, etc. and that finally, the purpose for which it was created is not always attained. It is said that it is a little state within the state. What do you say?

[Answer] But this is not true, to the extent that as I told you permits can only be accorded by the minister. So all the agency can do is present the files to the government. On the other hand, the very composition of its administrative council is the best guarantee that it cannot become a state within the state, since it is itself the state, the administration, in concentrated form. So I would tell these people who say that it has become an additional intermediary that it is the only intermediary, in reality there are not two.

Before there was an infinity of entities that had to be dealt with. Today, when they go to the agency they meet at the same time the ministry of the economy, obviously, since it is its creature, the central bank, the ministries of planning and finance, interior, the sanitation office, the industrial loans agency, etc.

I think that it would not have been possible to obtain so many permits with the old system that I know so well.

The real problem is not the agency, it is the present regulations. Are they, or are they not, well adapted to Tunisia's needs? Have they fulfilled their purpose? The agency is only a tool, which one can modify at will. It is as if you were to say, in the same way, that the import licensing service, or the STEG [Tunisian Gas and Electric Company] are states within the state. It seems possible from the outside, but on thinking it out thoroughly it appears impossible. It is a very cutting judgment if I were to employ the term, for nothing in reality or in the regulations justifies such a statement, to the degree that those responsible each assume their own responsibilities. This is an important point. But it remains no less true that the agency is an extension of the administration, whose policy it implements. Its success is obvious, since it has channeled many investments. The judgments it is possible to make on investments are ultimately judgments which bear much more heavily on Tunisian laws, that is to say law 74 or law 72.

If Law 72 Is To Be Revised, It Will Be to Strengthen Assistance to Exports

[Question] Given recent tendencies, presently visible in the developed countries, toward more protectionism with regard to products, and especially manufactured products, coming from the developing countries, don't you think that the revision of laws such as law 72, basically intended to encourage exports, is a necessity in the present state of affairs, in order to adapt these laws to the new situation?

[Answer] I would tell you that if I were to revise them, it would be to strengthen assistance to exports. Law 72 was often presented not as it is but as a law which brought foreign investors to Tunisia. Now the very first function of this law was that of developing an export mentality in Tunisia. Because we cannot live solely in a market as thin as the Tunisian market. I would like to say that the Tunisian government wants to more exporters among Tunisian industrialists. We should therefore strengthen existing laws in order to encourage people to export.

One should really call Law 72 by its proper name: it is not a law to try to bring foreign investment into Tunisia; as it was conceived in the minds of the Tunisian legislators, it was destined to promote exports.

For the rest, if we analyze the enterprises that benefit from law 72, we will observe that more than 50 percent are solely Tunisian, 25 percent are Tunisian in partnership with foreigners, 25 percent are foreign. This is approximately the order of scale. These are the figures, therefore, they should be thrown into relief once and for all. Often, people do not know that enterprises such as ICM [Maghreb Chemical Industries], SEPA [expansion unknown], or SOGITEX [expansion unknown] of Ksar Helal were brought in within the framework of Law 72. This law is above all an export law.

There, I would say that we did not get results faster than anticipated, even though nonetheless we have arrived today, within the framework of law 72, at the exportation of electronic components to Germany. This is not an insignificant step. It is not exactly everything we could have hoped, but it is already a first step. What we should do through this law, what we can develop, is above all that which I already outlined. These famous horizontal inter-industrial exchanges with countries at the same industrial level as ourselves, in this case certain countries such as Morocco, Algeria, and other countries in the Middle East, brother countries to whom we are attached by ties of friendship.

Now you can pose the question of whether we have succeeded with Law 72 and foreign investors, in realizing the technology transfers we were seeking.

If Export Markets Are Diversified, Product Diversification Is Automatic

[Question] In its annual report for 1979, the central bank draws attention to the low level of diversification which characterizes both our exportable products and our export markets. What actions is the ministry taking in this field?

[Answer] It is true that we do not have a diversification list identical to the European list, but our exported products are relatively diversified. I already cited the example of phosphates which, barely 10 years ago, were exported crude and which are now exported in 10 or 12 different forms. I can give the example of fluor-spar and textiles, which are exported in different forms. Textiles run the gamut from Indiso design to lingerie, including shirts, jackets, and hosiery. So one must not be too pessimistic and admit that we have a certain amount of diversification, of course nothing in the same league as the Europeans, but which is certainly among the best to be found in countries of the Third World. And it is just here that we arrive at the real problem; the diversification of our exports is in fact tied to the diversification of the countries with whom we work. So long as we continue to export to countries that are much more industrialized than us, and who have a standard of living and an industrial level much higher than ours, it is obvious that we will only be able to export a very few products in which we have an obvious specialty such as phosphates, textiles, oranges, olive oil, the sun (if one can count the sun as an exported product), etc. The day when we finally address ourselves to countries that have an industrial level similar to ours, we will very quickly see appearing an immense and very broad diversification, of products traded. And so, if we are talking about machine and electrical industries it is precisely because they make possible the achievement of total diversification, for it is not possible to find a field where there is more diversification than that. So the problem is basically one of no longer being tied to the markets of the developed countries and of moving out of the framework of a North-South trading relationship in order to try to have a horizontal relationship, with countries on the same level. By thus diversifying export markets, product diversification comes automatically. If in fact we come to make inter-industrial exchanges, if for example we and three or four other countries produce between us all the spare parts for an automobile, then we will have at least 120 to 150 products for trade. If we come to exchange the components manufactured in Tunisia, in Algeria, and in Morocco for the purpose of assembling an automobile, we will very quickly be trading several hundred products.

And this is precisely one of the objectives of this Plan, and a supplemental means of industrialization.

Standardization: A Complex But Necessary Problem

Along the same lines, Mr Minister, there is the question of standardization, which assumes great importance both for the protection of Tunisian consumers and for safeguarding the image of the trademark "Made in Tunisia." Where are we at this point in standardization of Tunisian industrial products?

[Answer] We are convinced of the importance of this question, and we are in process of examining it, and presently commissions are meeting under the aegis of the National Center for Industrial Research.

This is a very complex problem in two respects: that of exportation, and that of internal consumption. We have not even achieved the requisite standardization in wholesale marketing, to cite only one example. We are not even to the point of being able to exhibit our oranges in standardized crates, whereas in Europe, or elsewhere, the apples, fruits, or potatoes are classified in three or four categories.

We are attempting to standardize at the level of industrial products, but this is not an easy task.

Standardization remains, in any case, a necessary step.

Decentralization Requires a Minimum of Resources Which We Lacked at Independence

[Question] After years of development, some regions of Tunisia have for all practical purposes remained on the fringes of this great effort at progress which has brought more benefits to the coastal regions. Is a new direction being considered to spread out development activity more generally and to make it profitable to all the regions, especially to the hinterland?

[Answer] It is obvious that during the preceding plans the objective was first of all to establish industrial projects and to create jobs. We must not throw stones at those who preceded us, because it must be recognized that Tunisia was obliged to begin its industrialization from the existing infrastructure. We were obliged, in fact, to construct industries where there were ports, electric current, telephones, roads, schools, etc.

People often have a tendency to believe that Tunisia at its independence found itself in a situation like the one we have today, which is, of course, absolutely wrong. Now thirty seconds' reflection suffices to make one realize that this is a basic notion. Tunisia has invested much time in becoming what it presently is, and much effort has been made to decentralize the universities, endow the country with a road network, make electricity and running water widely available, and build housing, and schools. All these projects throughout the republic are thus the building blocks for a restored equilibrium in the country.

At the start it was necessary to begin with what already existed, and this in a way aggravated the imbalances that existed. But it was inevitable, for one had to choose between remaining in absolute poverty while awaiting the inevitable end, or beginning by beginning.

Now if we had not begun, Tunisia today would be in bankruptcy and would not have the means to cope with anything at all.

Today, Tunisia has become a country which does have a minimum of resources that make possible remedial action. To redirect investment, industry, and the migratory flow of the people requires political determination and a great deal of money. The political will exists, and we have had it for a long time, but one must also have resources.

Nothing is more difficult in reality than to reverse the direction of the flow that has become established from the countryside to the city. It is a universal phenomenon and not one unique to Tunisia. And nothing is more difficult than to lead investment away from the centers of consumption instead of toward them. In some countries the governments grant subsidies that in some cases represent half the investment.

It is thus policy which requires great resources: the installation of industrialized zones which will not be sold for a long time (big investments risk) therefore, remaining unproductive. The introduction of electricity, for example, etc. And one must get everything prepared and then await the arrival of the investor.

As for us, we have chosen another path which, in my opinion, is the right one, up to a certain point, besides which the government and the president of the republic himself, on certain historic occasions at Gabes, Bizerte, etc. have made the decision to make an effort. And this effort has been supplied by the public enterprises which have implemented a policy of decentralization. If you look at Tunisia, you will see that enterprises such as SOTIMACO [expansion unknown] for example are located throughout the republic. This company is established at Jendouba, at Kasserine, at Gabes, and at Medenine right now. If you look at the industrial zone at Gabes or Bizerte, you will conclude that most of the enterprises installed are more or less big-money ventures.

The president even chose, right after independence, to locate the famous cellulose factory at Kasserine. Who, at that time, would have thought it possible to locate a factory at Kasserine?

So the government has made some efforts to promote decentralization. But it is obvious that if we want there to be real movement, we must introduce real incentive measures that will enable people to go to these regions and on this point the government is in the process of studying several general measures to make things go better. People should understand once and for all that the construction of a mega-city like Tunis, or like what Sousse or Sfax are in the process of becoming, can represent a factor for imbalance, even for danger, and that it is in their interest, perhaps not immediately but in the medium term, to leave for other regions.

The government is presently engaged in researching the entire question in the context of integrated development and of real decentralization for the benefit of the regions. It will do all it can to lead the way toward a real balance among the different areas and I think that results will start appearing in a year or two.

The Equalization Fund Is an Instrument of Transfer To Benefit the Economically Weak

[Question] In its annual report, the central bank criticizes the pricing policy followed by the government, especially with regard to equalization costs, and calls for its revision. What do you think about this, Mr Minister, as the number one man responsible for this sensitive sector of the economy?

[Answer] Yes, there again we have a big problem. The equalization fund has been and is still a big topic of discussion. What is it we should equalize? What should not be equalized? It is obvious that the government has a price policy which is the result of a whole series of factors: there is a link between prices and wages, and several particular products are considered to be sensitive elements that should not undergo the normal cost fluctuations. I am thinking especially of sugar, which is consumed in great quantity by the Tunisian populace, of bread and its derivatives, and of olive oil. These are basic elements in the diet of our compatriots. Considering how concerned the government is with the purchasing power of the people, it is led to get involved in prices in the country.

We would naturally prefer not to have to get involved, but as the law of supply and demand often does not get the job done, we cannot just let things happen as they will, like some people would wish. If the conditions of supply and demand, competition, and distribution chains were right, we would not have to intervene, either on the price of products I was just speaking about or on the price of other products that go into what could be called the pantry of the Tunisian housewife. If everyone played his part well: the producer, the intermediary, the transporter, the wholesaler, the retailer, and the consumer, it is obvious that we would not have any need to intervene to keep things from getting out of hand.

In general, we do not like to intervene in market mechanisms where it has been shown everywhere in the world that whenever such intervention is too sweeping, the products disappear. Examples in many countries testify to the truth of this.

We want personal initiative to continue to prevail, because it is the best guarantee of good quality, good service, and the honest play of the laws of supply and demand. But it is also essential that these laws be the same for all. When you go into the street and see two children or two people arguing, and one is very weak while the other is very strong, you arbitrate, you separate them to prevent the stronger from crushing the weaker. In the present case, this is our role.

We are obliged to stop the fighting when we see that, unfortunately, that it is often the weak who lose. These are the consumers, poor consumers, weak consumers because poorly informed: they buy any old thing, at any old price, and don't try to protect themselves. So we are obliged to defend them.

With respect to the equalization fund, we are keeping up our efforts, because we must, because there can be no question of allowing international prices that can affect olive oil, sugar, or cereals to interfere in our economy.

We are a serious country, with a planned economy, with a planned policy, and we cannot allow outside convulsions to whip around our economy with full force. It is a question of sovereignty. Perhaps at the end of a year or a year and a half we will modify the price of a product, because we know it has definitively stabilized. But presently, if the increase in sugar costs had been passed on, it is obvious that the price would have gone up by two or three times, which is unthinkable. And what will one do afterwards, when the price comes down again? It's a problem, isn't it?

Thus the equalization fund is an instrument of transfer, so to say, for the benefit of people with weak purchasing power. It is above all an instrument of control and regulation to maintain a general equilibrium in prices. We cannot allow certain imported products to come in freely without national control to act on our market and upset our overall policy.

This is the first element. The second: we would like to leave everything else in peace. Only when the rules of the game are broken--as was the case during the last Ramadan--do we intervene, and only in such cases will we intervene. That comes pretty close to how I should define our policy. This being so, what we would like to see in the industrial area when the conditions of competition are completely met, is that there should be a system of self-regulation and of relative freedom that allows people to try to do better on prices and quality.

The Problem of the Fund is One of Balance, Not Conception

[Question] The deficit of the Equalization Fund is growing each year, and arrears at the end of 1979 were estimated at 150 million dinars. Don't you think that, if the principle of the Fund is good, its operations should be reviewed?

[Answer] The fund is certainly in deficit, but it is a deficit that was accumulated over several years. This does not mean that the principle is bad. There may have been some decisions made over the years that were not good. Perhaps we should have increased prices by 20 or 15 percent to expunge the deficit. The problem of the fund is one of balance, not of conception. When we reach a certain point, and in the framework of the policy of the government, when the revision of the price of certain products becomes necessary, we will inform the public, we will say: here it is, these prices have changed in such-and-such a way; there is simply no way to keep them at this level any longer; we must raise them because the fund can no longer sustain them.

But the fund accumulated deficits because these revenues were not as large as its outlays, not because the decisions made were bad. It is an accounting problem. The fund is indispensable if we are to avoid finding ourselves starting off with a certain policy in a given year only to have the economy thrown completely up in the air because three months later some crisis over the Suez Canal or the Panama Canal results in the price of a product tripling.

The fund is an indispensable instrument of re-equilibration; in its absence we would have an economy like those of the 16th or 17th Centuries, completely free, where prices are subject to triple and then sink back down.

Equalization expenses exist; in the last analysis they are a reality. But the real equalization does not appear just in the fund; it is elsewhere. There are many hidden equalizations. The Tunisian state or the national community has other means in addition to the fund to promote equalization. It does it through energy, which it delivers cheaply to the country. And this is of a much greater order of magnitude.

Energy: Exploit All Our Potential and Keep an Eye on Consumption

[Question] Regarding energy, are we ready for the future? Isn't it time to arm ourselves to deal with the problems that could confront Tunisia if it were to become an importer of oil?

[Answer] It is obvious that if energy sources stay what they are now, and in general these sources do not change with great rapidity, Tunisia will in a fairly short span of years become an importing country and could find itself confronted with several problems, if the necessary measures were not taken to deal with the situation.

Presently, there are two lines of action: the first, which is the most important, consists in identifying all possibilities for substitutes for energy presently utilized, that is for fuel, all the petroleum derivatives. We are presently undertaking a very big research effort on minerals such as lignite that if proved to be in sufficient quantities could be used in power plants. As an example, East Germany uses lignite to run all its electric power plants, and uses it in chemistry and in all sorts of activities.

We are also contemplating as a possibility the utilization of the natural gas found in Tunisian water or in the earth and which, in light of the increase in oil price, is becoming a particularly promising product at present. Here, we must move forward and accelerate the research. We are really putting our shoulder to the wheel.

Certainly there are other sources, such as solar energy, wind, and uranium, which we have in not insignificant quantities in our phosphoric acid; and we can see the possibility of extracting close to the equivalent of 100 to 110 tons of uranium.

We have therefore a whole series of things to do, and the government has decided, in this field, to accelerate the pace so we can be prepared for the days ahead which, if we move too slowly, will be very difficult.

The second element is consumption. Tunisia's consumption is growing at an annual rate of 16 to 17 percent, which means that consumption is doubling almost every five years. So this is very simple to calculate: in 5 years we will consume twice as much; as presently we consume nearly half of what we produce, in 5 or 6 years, which is practically tomorrow, we will find ourselves importers; and

at that point we will find ourselves on the receiving end of all the crises we presently see due to the increase in oil prices: in other words, they will represent a debit on our trade balance, rather than a credit as at present.

So here we owe it to ourselves to keep an eye on our consumption, which is constantly rising, as even countries much richer than Tunisia, that have great supplies of energy, such as the United States to cite but one example, have succeeded in the last year in lowering their consumption by about 1 percent. How did they do it? By a policy of energy economy, certainly, but above all by a deterrent price policy. There is no deterrent but price.

Often, when one speaks of deterrence by price, people think of the automobile. Now in fact automobiles do not make up the biggest consumption. It is industry. How much fuel do we consume to produce a kilowatt, or a ton of cement, or a ton of steel? How much fuel is needed to go so many kilometers in our cars or trains? So there are ways to economize energy in these various fields. If we do not follow an ad hoc price policy, we will encourage people to waste energy [sic].

Consumption by private motorist is relatively marginal in Tunisia, by comparison with the rest of industrial consumption. So, through a price policy, through raising prices, we must aim first of all at reducing waste and second at making it profitable for investments to be made in the field of substitute energy sources of which I spoke before.

Presently, prices in Tunisia have no relation to world prices. If we were importers of fuel and gas oil, we would be paying three times the price at which we sell them to our compatriots at present. We should think about these problems.

Presently, America and Europe are shivering in winter because heating has been limited to 20 degrees [C.] because of the increase in the price of energy.

So sooner or later we must have a policy in this domain, and we have already begun to lay the foundations. It is obvious that we must not proceed in massive jumps: it could have traumatic or unhealthy effects on the Tunisian economy.

But we should nevertheless proceed, perhaps in homeopathic increments (you will excuse me for using medical terminology), until Tunisians are acclimatized to it. If we don't then on the day we go into deficit on energy products, our economy will be put in a catastrophic situation. One bright day we will find we have to pay 4 or 5 times dearer. Just imagine the indirect effects this could have on industry!

So we must invest very quickly in sectors where we can hope to find substitute sources, including petroleum research. This is also a reason for attracting foreign companies.

Many people ask why are we not doing the research ourselves. It is in our interest to attract the very highest technology, because our sub-stratum is very complex: it is volcanic, very fissured, and very divided-up. The foreign enterprises on whom we are calling to come work in Tunisia have very refined technology that would be very useful for us in trying to find the necessary quantities.

But it is obvious that we can do nothing if we don't have a policy of raising prices as close as possible to world prices. Gradually, to be sure, but inevitably.

Tourism Is an Important, but not Fundamental, Element of our Economy

[Question] Regarding tourism, there is a controversy: some say it is a fragile sector, but its revenue in hard currency is on the order of 250 million dinars per year. What are the prospects for this sector?

[Answer] As I already said, we must first of all not allow this sector to reach proportions that would make it a fundamental element of the economy. The tourism sector is the second largest factor in our trade balance (if we put it in commercial terms), but it only represents 4.2 percent of Tunisia's PIB.

When you consider that agriculture is 18 percent, and that industry is 26 percent, you bring it back toward its real impact on the country. Tunisia, thank God, is not only a tourist country. Tourism is an important sector in our external resources-jobs balance, but it is not a fundamental element of our economy. Moreover, 1.4 million tourists at 8 or 9 nights per tourist is not all that much. I'll always remember the very good comparison given to me by a Tunisian at a meeting, when he said: there is 1 million of them and 6 million of us, and they consume 5 times as much as we do, so they are eating as much food as we do in the country; only he forgot that the Tunisians spend 360 nights a year in Tunisia, while the tourists spend only a week, and that, whatever the latter consume, one would have to multiply the figure for Tunisians by 365 and that for the foreigners by 8 to get an idea. So tourism is not as decisive a factor as some people think. And I think we have in the country sufficiently strong social structures and a sufficiently well-organized administration, and that Tunisians have attained a sufficiently high level of civilization to be able to sustain some tourist development.

After all we are not Zulus, that the shock of tourism should kill Tunisia. We are not people who have nothing: we have historical social structures, and I think that tourism has not completely denatured us, even if there are certain aspects that may seem negative to us. Tourism has not changed the Tunisian in a fundamental way, either in terms of consumption, or in social terms, or in any other terms. One would have to be looking for an argument to deny this, I think.

We are, however, convinced that this sector should remain at its present proportions, even if it constitutes for us a significant source of supplemental income that helps Tunisia continue to buy things such as equipment goods essential to its economic progress.

Another aspect which is perhaps a technical aspect is more dense development of what we have already acquired. We have made very large investments in infrastructure. What we are considering in terms of the number of beds during the next Plan is aiming more at utilizing money we have already spent rather than making new outlays. We have put in gas mains, electricity, we have built refining stations, roads, zones have been improved. Nevertheless, the network remains too thin at present, and we think it is possible to intensify it and to achieve at a marginal cost a much greater profitability of investment and more intense exploitation of the zones already created.

What then is the future of tourism in our country? People have been predicting catastrophes ever since I was involved in this sector (and I go back a long time in the ministries, as functionary and then as official). But time after time Tunisia has been saved by miracles: once it was the crisis in Spain, another time the crisis in Cyprus, and the sector continues to advance.

There is often a tendency to forget that tourism is the most heavily national sector. When you take a Tunisian hotel, and you see what is there, (apart perhaps from some vertical hotels that use several elevators) you will realize that in its total it is more than 80 percent made up of Tunisian products.

The furnishings industry, for example, was developed in Tunisia thanks to tourism. The same for artisanry, plumbing, etc. The rebirth of agriculture in the tourist regions has also been achieved thanks to tourism. So many sectors have benefited from the development of tourism.

On the other hand, what other national investment can parlay 6 thousand dinars into nearly 2 thousand dinars per year in [hard] currency? Such is the case with tourism. Neither steelwork, nor agriculture can do as much, not to speak of the collateral effects on sectors such as trade, restaurants... which tourist consumption creates.

[Question] Isn't that precisely the fragility of this sector? Though it only represents a tiny portion of the PIB, it has spill-over effects that, in case of crises, could make themselves felt on all the other sectors?

[Answer] This is quite right. It is a sector that, when it weakens, creates a slump. But one must still take two other elements into account. First of all, there is internal tourism, which is beginning to take a significant place; it represents already more than 6 percent and will certainly grow over the next few years, especially since hoteliers have become aware of its importance. On the other hand, we have diversified our touristic sources. We are presently seeing arrive people from the Middle East, Algeria, etc. Our Arab brothers are beginning to represent a not insignificant potential. Then, we have tremendously diversified our European sources. At the beginning, we were dependent on two nationalities. Today, we have a very wide range.

I think that, in light of all these factors, the tourist sector, just as all the other sectors of the Tunisian economy, remains more or less dependent on external circumstances. Tunisia, as I said, needs money to import products. Now, by virtue of its size, and by virtue of its situation, external elements represent 24 to 25 percent of the total resources at its disposal, that is, Tunisia exports almost a quarter of what it produces. Thus, Tunisia in the last analysis is dependent on its trade with other countries. Tourism is one of these elements of dependence, but it is not the only one. We do not consume all our oil, all our vegetable oils, all our phosphate, or all our phosphoric acids. Tourism is thus not an isolated case, and its fragility is neither greater nor less than that of the other export sectors. If we were only to create development industries when there was no risk, nothing would have been built in Tunisia. We are thus obliged, we are condemned to take risks in order to develop.

The Maghreb Countries Should Coordinate Their Positions in Negotiating With the EEC

[Question] Relations between Tunisia and the EEC in recent years have been characterized by the train of protectionist measures taken by the countries of the Community. What are the prospects for these relations, especially in wake of the visit of Mr Francois Poncet, the French minister of foreign affairs, to Tunisia?

[Answer] It is really the visit of Mr Davignon, the EEC commissioner for industry, which is the most important factor. With France, we have special bilateral relations which Mr Poncet's visit has reconfirmed, and we are very satisfied. The French have been our mentors ever since we started negotiating with the Community, but it is with Mr Davignon that we have negotiated and exposed our problems.

I think that we have arrived at a profitable basis for compromise which takes account both of their concerns and our interests, that is to say, we have reached agreement to confront concretely our differences in perspective and to avoid to the greatest extent possible creating unexpected shocks in our relationship. This, I think is a very major breakthrough.

We do not intend to impose our policy on Europe, and I think that Europe in turn does not intend to impose its own on us, but we said to Europe: "If we are to continue to maintain the relations we wish to maintain, it is necessary that you take into account our point of view and our concerns. If you agree to this, I think that, being broadminded men, we will arrive at an understanding with out. Give us this much, and we will be on our way."

This is an important thing, but it should not make us rest all our hopes on Europe. As I already said, we should try to cooperate with countries at the same industrial plateau as ourselves, countries that have the same concerns as we. I will cite, as a very visible example, the fraternal countries of Algeria and Morocco. It is obvious that if we coordinate our positions, and this moreover has already been accepted both in Rabat and Algiers during the visits of Mr Mohamed Mzali, we will have improvement. If we ourselves make sufficient efforts to show that we are disposed to help each other, initially, (it is said that well-thought-out charity begins with oneself), I believe that the Europeans will be more broadminded toward us. But if we continue to walk each on his own path, to say: "You gave to them, why won't you give us as much?", and if each tries to pull all of the scant covers to his own side of the bed, since the biggest part of the covers has gone to Spain, or to a certain other country, it is obvious that all three of us will find ourselves naked.

Tunisian-Algerian Cooperation...Harmonizing Efforts and Benefiting From Each Other's Experiences

[Question] Bilateral cooperation between Tunisia and Algeria has just been launched: what, in your opinion, are the sectors where this cooperation could be most concretely strengthened?

[Answer] With Algeria, exactly as with Morocco one might add, we have just had negotiations which have brought to light the very preoccupations I just mentioned. We constate that we have made much progress and we are going to try experiments in cooperation, in coordinating our efforts and in exchanging our respective experiences.

The visit of the Prime Minister to Algeria resulted in important and immediately realizable decisions. Thus, we agreed to exchange visits of delegations at the level of sectoral leaders. Quite recently, a large Tunisian delegation went to Algeria to discuss discussions with the sectoral chiefs in the machine and electrical fields, and the results obtained are especially significant and encouraging, and should enable our economic exchanges to reach a new dimension.

So serious things are moving forward. A large joint Tunisian-Algerian commission is also scheduled quite soon.

We are going in the same direction, and with respect to the Maghreb, there only remains to work out a few political problems.

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CSO: 4400

ECONOMIC MINISTER DISCUSSES ENERGY FUTURE OF COUNTRY

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 29 Oct 80 p 5

[Text] The work of the Franco-Arab colloquium on new energy sources began Sunday at Sousse under the chairmanship of Mr Abdelaziz Lasram, minister of the national economy, who on this occasion delivered a presentation on Tunisia's energy situation.

After having welcomed the participants to this colloquium organized by the Franco-Arab chamber of commerce, Mr Lasram described the concerns of Tunisia, which, according to current predictions, is going to see its external trade in the energy field undergo a reversal of sign toward the negative between the beginning and the end of the Eighties. Also, in the next 10 years energy could become the country's biggest import, if new resources are not discovered, thus explaining Tunisia's interest in the overall problem of energy and in this colloquium in particular, the minister said, describing in this connection the two sides of the energy balance: resources on the one hand and utilization on the other.

Resources, first of all: the ministers said that Tunisia's oil production (5.5 million tons in 1980) will experience a decline in the future, whereas availability of natural gas will increase starting next year thanks to the quantities of natural gas that is to be set aside for Tunisia from the Algerian gas that will transit through Tunisia on its way to Italy.

"However, we must start looking now at the exploitation of new energy sources in order to reduce the preponderance of hydrocarbons," Mr Lasram said, underlining the fact that Tunisia believes the next step is to use imported coal for production of electricity and to intensify prospecting for lignite. The minister noted that the demand for energy reached 2.5 million tons in 1979, for an increase of 11 percent per year during the course of the last decade.

The minister continued next to speak of actions undertaken by Tunisia in the context of energy economy.

These actions, he explained, are aimed at getting a better understanding of the ultimate destination of the energy consumed under different forms in order to

identify the sectors that consume the most energy, in order to establish an indispensable reference point for making coherent energy decisions.

Regarding new energy sources, the minister posed several questions which, he believes, the experts are needed to answer and which dealt with the necessity to move forward with the exploration and utilization of wind, solar, and other forms of energy.

For his part, Mr Jean Pierre Pruteau, French secretary of state with the minister of industry, emphasized the special character of Tunisian-French relations in particular and of French-Arab relations in general, before giving to the audience a summary of the policy of his country on energy matters.

He said that France, which considers the development of new energy sources to be a necessity for the world and for peace, has developed a plan which would enable it by 1980 (sic) to reduce its invulnerability of energy, and to convert to new forms of energy.

France, he said, is trying to support international dialogue and concertation in order to free up prospects for adjusting supply and demand, to define a mechanism, of price adjustment, to develop research on new energy sources and to support coordinated action between the producers and consumers for the benefit of the most disadvantaged countries.

Before that, in opening the colloquium, Michel Habib-Deloncle, president of the Franco-Arab chamber of commerce, and Bourhan Dajani, secretary general of the federation of chambers of commerce, industry and agriculture of Arab countries, both highlighted the importance of the discussion which will be launched on new energy sources, both for the French side and the Arab side.

They also mentioned the emergent problems of the progressive exhaustion of sources of oil, the impact of this phenomenon on the future of humanity, and the necessity for both sides to establish dialogue and cooperation beneficial to both parties.

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CSO: 4400

KOOLI OPENS COORDINATION COMMITTEES CONFERENCE

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 29 Oct 80 p 4

(Text) Mr Mongi Kooli, deputy prime minister and head of the party, who presided yesterday morning at the opening of the conference of the secretary-generals of the coordination committees, made a speech on this occasion in which he analyzed the important role incumbent on the coordination committees, especially at a time when the party is settling down to prepare for the congresses of Destourian cells. He emphasized that all efforts should be bent toward strengthening the activity of the party and intensifying efforts in order for the PSD [Destourian Socialist Party] to remain the channel for mobilization of all energies into the battle for development which the party has undertaken to wage with unshakeable determination.

Determination To Surmount Problems and Obstacles

Mr Mongi Kooli stressed that the battle for development is a long-range effort. Achieving victory over under-development depends on the determination of Destourian militants and their resoluteness in surmounting problems and obstacles, because it is true that in order to achieve the objectives of our next development plan we must take into account a whole set of factors both internal and external.

General Mobilization and Constant Vigilance

The head of the party added:

"It is important for us, at the time when we are readying ourselves to launch ourselves into the third decade of development and to draft the broad lines of the Sixth Plan that will be at the heart of the next party congress, to take into consideration the external factors. We must also look far ahead into the future. By looking clearly at our resources and our potential. By doing this, the congress will be prepared to define our broad options in matters of development."

After reviewing the main chapters of the plan that will be clarified further in the course of the party congress next spring, Mr Mongi Kooli noted that the PSD is assuming a fundamental role in meeting the conditions for the success of the development plan, remarking that it is necessary to improve the social climate and to mobilize all useful energies through the Destourian cells.

Gamble on our Abilities

Analyzing the meaning of authentic democracy, the head of the PSD underlined that democracy does not mean weakness and toleration with respect to destructive political currents. By rejecting all election fraud, we offer the same opportunity to every citizen, in the framework of the law.

"Nevertheless, it is our right, or rather, it is our duty, to endorse only those in whom we have confidence, those who are faithful to the orientation of the party and its opinions.

We are only gambling on those who are intelligent, competent, imbued with shining and respected high moral values," the PSD leader said.

The Party's Interest Above All

Mr Mongi Kooli also exhorted the secretary-generals of the coordination committees to put the party's mission above all personal considerations and to take into account only the party's interests, reaffirming the need to examine all questions with due deliberation, wisdom, and far-seeing vision, and not to hesitate to use the tool of uncertainty.

"Taking an oath is a practice to which we must return for joining the party and getting a membership card.

"The card should be issued individually, and we should hardly be fearful of limiting the number of members. The party can accept being a minority if this minority is sincere, faithful, and committed," he said, exhorting the secretary-generals to continue the work of administering the budgets of the cells and districts and to keep ever in mind that the party only asks for what the Supreme Champion and the sacred principles have inculcated in us.

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CSO: 4400

MZALI URGES DOMESTIC, FOREIGN POLICY IMPROVEMENTS

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 29 Oct 80 p 4

[Text] Mr Mohamed Mzali, secretary general of the PSD [Destourian Socialist Party], brought to a close Monday evening at Party House at the Kasbah the conference of secretary-generals of the coordination committees whose deliberations lasted the entire day Monday.

At the start of the meeting, Mr Mongi Kooli, director of the party and deputy prime minister, welcomed the secretary general of the PSD and thanked him, on behalf of all the participants, for having brought together the secretary-generals of the coordination committees who thereby would have the opportunity to profit from his counsel at a time when the party is on the threshold of the third decade of development and while it is preparing to hold its congress which will have to lay out the broad lines of the Sixth Plan.

Mr Mongi Kooli next gave a comprehensive summary of the work of the conference and the conclusions and recommendations that resulted from it.

Mr Mohamed Mzali made a speech on this occasion at the beginning of which he reiterated his congratulations to the secretary-generals of the coordination committees and expressed to them his satisfaction with the results that crowned the latest meetings of the party coordination committees.

He next declared that he was confident about the future of the party: "I have absolutely no doubt," he said, "that the secretary-generals of these coordination committees will remain attached to the moral concepts and the ethos of the party and that they will not spare any efforts to see that the PSD remains the object of the respect and consideration of the popular masses by virtue of their exemplary conduct and the creative and intense activity they manifest."

The prime minister also mentioned the favorable climate which reigns today in the country, about which the secretary-generals of the coordination committees unanimously expressed themselves as being well-pleased. He exhorted the latter to continue with activities to preserve this climate and to consolidate this foundation by preaching the good word in accordance with the directives of the president of the republic.

"This peaceful climate," he said, "constitutes in our eyes the protective shield against anything that could threaten our sovereignty, and at the same time the best guarantee of the ultimate devotion with which we are proposing to pursue the prize of development in the course of the next decade.

"The government of Tunisia, under the aegis of the Supreme Champion, works unceasingly to improve the climate inside the country and to consolidate our network of friendships abroad, and it has made in this field some appreciable gains."

The prime minister reviewed achievements and projects contemplated for the future in this perspective. He was especially pleased at the understanding and cooperation that now characterize relations between Tunisia and its Maghreb neighbors. "Prospects for economic interaction between our countries are extremely encouraging, and the future of industrial complementarity is most promising. Besides, we are in the process of moving firmly toward economic integration on the scale of the Greater Arab Maghreb," he added.

Mr Mohamed Mzali also spoke of efforts that have been made recently toward consolidating Tunisia's position with respect to friendly countries, laying special emphasis on gains made in tightening the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the PSD and the European socialist parties.

The prime minister also reviewed the results of the visit just made to Tunisia by his French counterpart, Mr Raymond Barre. In this connection, he mentioned the profound impact that this visit had in reinforcing the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

Mr Mzali also dealt with Destourian activities and with the necessity of redoubling efforts in order to consolidate the party's position and to increase its impact on all the populous [social] classes.

"Our work on development," he said, "is a labor of a socialist and popular character that implies that the Tunisian General Federation of Labor must be a strong and democratic organization to play its part fully, in the struggle for development alongside the party, which intends to remain ever faithful to the popular line established by the Supreme Champion, and faithful also to his message on mobilization of energies, safeguarding the regime, and bringing the people together by means of persuasion."

Mr Mohamed Mzali recommended to the secretary-generals of the coordination committees to devote themselves selflessly and enthusiastically to the elaboration of their programs of activity in all ways so that all sectors of the populace and all categories of the young can have the widest chances for fruitful work and effective participation in the nation's advance toward development, invulnerability, and prosperity.

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